

A PSALTER AND
NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPT
AT DUMBARTON OAKS

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Fol. 80v, Cantic of the Virgin

Fol. 330v, Epistle to Philemon, detail, enlarged:
Christ, Paul, and Timothy (see also Fig. 54)



IN September 1962 the Dumbarton Oaks Collection acquired from a dealer in Western Europe a Psalter and New Testament manuscript, formerly no. 49 at the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos.¹ The Government of Greece was fully informed. It is not known when this manuscript, which was still in the monastery in 1941,² left the Holy Mountain, but before 1936 one leaf (fol. 78) had already been detached from the Psalter and acquired by the Benaki Museum in Athens; in 1950 another leaf (fol. 254) was purchased by the Cleveland Museum of Art from the Vladimir G. Simkhovitch Collection in New York.³ The manuscript acquired by Dumbarton Oaks has been incorporated in the Collection as MS 3.^{3a}

Ever since the last decade of the nineteenth century, when this manuscript was first described or studied by Brockhaus, Millet, and Tikkanen, and photographs of the Psalter became part of the Collection of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris and were thus made available to scholars,⁴ the Pantokrator Psalter 49 has been mentioned in all general histories of Byzantine art, as well as in all studies devoted to Psalter illustration or to Constantinopolitan art

¹ S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, 1895), I, p. 98.

² Several photographs, made in 1941, were published by F. Dölger, *Mönchsland Athos* (Berlin, 1942), figs. 98–101. According to a letter written by Mr. Ernest W. Saunders of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, to Mr. William D. Wixom, Associate Curator of the Cleveland Museum of Art, the manuscript could not be located at the Pantokrator monastery in 1953.

³ *Guide to the Benaki Museum*, English ed. (Athens, 1936), no. 6, p. 35; *Handbook of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, 1958), no. 32 and fig.; "Byzantine Manuscript Illumination," Oberlin College, *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, XV (Winter 1958), p. 47, no. 5 and fig. 9. I wish to thank Mr. M. Chadzidakis, Director of the Benaki Museum, Mr. Sherman Lee, Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art, and Mr. William D. Wixom, Associate Curator, for sending photographs of the leaves in their museums and for permission to reproduce them. I am indebted to Miss Dorothy Miner, for photographs of and information on two of the manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery; to Prof. Kurt Weitzmann for sending to me for my information photographs of Pantokrator MS 234; to Prof. André Grabar for two photographs of Pantokrator MS 49 which had not yet been incorporated into the catalogue of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes; and to him and Mademoiselle Suzy Dufrenne for letting me consult the photographs of the Bristol Psalter and the Pantokrator Psalter 61, which are to be published by Mlle Dufrenne in her book *Illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge*. My thanks are due also to Prof. A. Xyngopoulos for information concerning the Psalter (MS 7) in the Athens National Library; to Prof. Cyril Mango for a description of the miniatures in the Psalter (Add. MS 11836) in the British Museum; to Prof. Romilly Jenkins for checking and completing the transcriptions from the Greek in the present paper; and to Prof. John Meyendorff for his help in identifying the texts on fol. 341 ff. of the Dumbarton Oaks MS.

^{3a} The other two MSS in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection are: MS 1, Greek Lectionary (D.O. 39.12; cf. Seymour de Ricci, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* [New York, 1962], p. 103); and MS 2, Georgian Menaion (D.O. 52.1; cf. Gérard Garitte, "Le Ménéage géorgien de Dumbarton Oaks," *Le Muséon*, LXXVII, 1–2 [1964], pp. 29–64).

⁴ H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 170, 174 ff., 205 ff.; G. Millet, "Quelques représentations byzantines de la salutation angélique," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XVIII (1894), pp. 456–7; J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter* (Helsingfors, 1895), I, 2, pp. 128–32; G. Millet, *La collection chrétienne et byzantine des Hautes Etudes* (Paris, 1903), C 104–115.

of the eleventh century.⁵ But, so far, the miniatures have not been considered in their entirety and, strangely enough, those which accompany the New Testament have hardly ever been recorded.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript consisted of 364 folios, measuring 16.2 x 10.3 to 10.9 cm., numbered 1 to 362; number 211 has been omitted by mistake and a missing leaf between folios 187 and 188 (John 1:1-26) has not been taken into consideration in the modern pagination. Folios 1 to 340 are in vellum; the text, in a small, regular minuscule, is written in a single column and there are thirty-six lines to a page. Folios 341 to 362 (beginning with the Epistle to the Hebrews 13:20) are in paper, and were added later.

Folios 4, 78, 86, 87, 187, 187 bis, and 254 are now missing; folios 78 and 254 are in the Benaki Museum and the Cleveland Museum respectively, as has been mentioned above; the present location of the other missing folios is not known.

The modern binding of yellow velvet over wooden boards is badly worn. The Manuscript was copied in 1084, since the Paschal tables on fol. 3^v begin with that year.

CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT AND DESCRIPTION OF THE MINIATURES

Fol. 2. Instruction on how to read the Psalter with spiritual profit.

Fols. 2-3. Brief indication of the content of each Psalm.

Fol. 3^v. Paschal tables for the years 1084 to 1101.

Fol. 4 (missing). Cross raised on a mount, and inscription IC XC NIKA written in circles at the sides (fig. 1).⁶ A later hand has drawn a bearded face, on the left; the inscription μονῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος ὑπάρχει is also by a later hand.

Fol. 4^v (missing). *Virgin and Saints* (fig. 2).⁷ The three-quarter figure of the Virgin Eleousa, embracing the Christ Child held on her right arm, is flanked by the full figures of John the Baptist and an archangel. In the lower section Gregory the Theologian (of Nazianzus), Basil, and John Chrysostom stand frontally. The names have all been added by a late hand.

Fol. 5. *Birth and Anointing of David* (fig. 3). In the upper section David's mother, half reclining, gazes into the distance; three young attendants stand behind the couch and a servant is seated in the foreground holding the naked and nimbed child; the empty bath and a pitcher are depicted on the left. The Anointing of David, in the lower section, is badly flaked. Samuel raises the horn of oil over the head of David in the presence of David's father and brothers,

⁵ It would be futile to list all the works in which our manuscript is mentioned and some of its miniatures reproduced. Apart from the publications of early date mentioned in the preceding note, we need only refer to some of the more recent discussions by V. Lazarev (*Istoriia vizantiiskoi zhivopisi* [Moscow, 1947], p. 111 ff.); and K. Weitzmann (*Illustrations in Roll and Codex* [Princeton, 1947], pp. 111, 149, 150, 152, 162, 170, 180; *The Joshua Roll* [Princeton, 1948], pp. 75 ff., 80).

⁶ Photo: Ecole des Hautes Etudes, C 6120.

⁷ Photo: Ecole des Hautes Etudes, C 6119.

only three of whom are clearly visible. The nimbed, female figure standing between David and his father Jesse can be identified as the personification of Gentleness (Πραότης) by comparison with the corresponding scene in the Paris Psalter 139.⁸

Fol. 5^v. *Portrait of David* (fig. 4). David, clad in imperial garb, has risen from his throne and stretches both hands to receive the scroll presented by the Hand of God emerging from the arc of heaven. The paint has flaked, especially from the central area of the miniature.

Fol. 6. *Portrait of David* (fig. 5). In the square headpiece of Psalm 1, David, clad as in the preceding miniature, is seated on a stool and writes on a leaf leaning against his knees; the Hand of God, blessing, emerges from the arc of heaven. An inkwell and a pen can be seen on top of the square table and an open book is placed on the fish-shaped lectern. The title of the Psalm, written in large, gilt uncials, reads: Δαυιδ τὸ πρῶτον ἄσμα, τῶν Ψαλμῶν βᾶσις. The initial M is formed by the standing figures of Christ and of David, identified by inscriptions. David holds an open scroll above which a cross with two transverse bars has been drawn.

Fols. 6 to 26^v. Psalms 1 to 49.

Fol. 27. *Repentance of David* (fig. 6). In the headpiece of Psalm 50, David, admonished by Nathan, is seated on a stool; an angel with drawn sword stands behind him. David is represented a second time prostrate before the prophet. A bust of David, identified by an inscription, is drawn inside the initial Ε, and his outstretched arms form the horizontal bar of the letter; in the outer margin is a figure of Christ enthroned frontally. The title of the Psalm is written in small, gilt uncials.

Fols. 27 to 38^v. Psalms 50 to 76.

Fol. 39. *Christ Pantokrator*, headpiece of Psalm 77 (fig. 7). The paint has flaked from the face, neck, and right hand of Christ who points to the open book held in His left hand. The top of the large cross-nimbus covers part of the frame. The title of the Psalm, written in large, gilt uncials, reads: Συνέσεως τῷ Ἀσάφ. The initial Π is formed by Christ presenting a closed book to David; both figures are identified by inscriptions.

Fols. 39 to 71. Psalms 77 to 151.

Fol. 71. *Combat of David and Goliath* (fig. 8), at the end of the supplementary Psalm 151. In the upper part, David, clad in a short tunic and mantle, and holding his sling, stands frontally, his head slightly turned toward Goliath who protects himself with his shield and raises his right arm to throw his spear. In the lower section David cuts off the head of Goliath who has fallen on his knees.

Fol. 72. *Crossing of the Red Sea* (fig. 9), headpiece of the first canticle of Moses (Exodus 15:1-19) which ends on the top of folio 73. The Israelites, preceded by the pillar of fire and blessed by the hand of God, proceed to the right; Moses stands in their midst and with his wand touches the water which flows

⁸ H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1929), p. 7 and pl. III.

across the lower part of the miniature. The colors have flaked in this area, but one can distinguish some of the soldiers, Pharaoh in his chariot drawn by a rearing horse, and the arms of the personification of the Abyss pulling Pharaoh into the water. The title of the Ode, written in gilt uncials, reads:

*Αρδην βυθίσας Φαραώ Μωσῆς λέγει.

Fol. 73. *Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law* (fig. 10), headpiece of the second Canticle of Moses (Deuteronomy 32) which ends on folio 74^v. Moses stands on the mountain, between two rocky peaks, and holds the two stone tablets given to him by the Hand of God emerging from the arc of heaven; his discarded sandals lie on the ground behind him, next to the flaming bush. The Israelites are grouped in the center foreground; they stand frontally but the foremost slightly raises his head in the direction of Moses. The personification of Mount Sinai, seen from the back, is seated on the left and holds the trunk of a withered tree; a pool of water fills the lower right-hand corner. The title of the Canticle, written in gilt uncials, reads: Νόμου γραφέντος αὐθις ᾠδὴ Μωσε(ως).

Fol. 75. Headpiece of the *Canticle of Hannah* (I Kings 2:1-10) which continues on folio 75^v (fig. 11). On the left, Hannah, holding the infant Samuel on her knees, is seated in front of a rectangular, columnar structure above which are several trees. She is represented again on the right, this time gazing upward and with her hands raised in the attitude of prayer, but the arc of heaven has been omitted. A half-length figure of Hannah, identified by an inscription, is drawn inside the initial Ε; her outstretched hands, forming the horizontal bar of the letter, are directed toward the enthroned figure of Christ in the outer margin. The title, in gilt uncials, reads: Θεὸν γεγαίρε στείρα τίκτουσα ξένως. Fol. 76. Headpiece of the *Canticle of Habakkuk* (Hab. 3:1-19) which ends on the top of folio 77 (fig. 13). Habakkuk stands in the center and turns to the right, his head and hands raised to the arc of heaven. The seated figure on the left, effaced and crudely redrawn, can be identified as the personification of the city of Babylon by comparison with the identical composition in the Psalter in Paris, suppl. gr. 610,⁹ where there is an accompanying inscription (fig. 14). In the upper part of the miniature an angel has seized Habakkuk by the hair and flies through the air with him; the prophet carries a pitcher in his right hand, and in his left hand a basket of food which he rests on his shoulder. The initial K is formed by the standing figure of Habakkuk, identified by an inscription and holding a long, inscribed scroll; a bust of Christ is drawn in the outer margin. The title of the Canticle, written in gilt uncials, reads: Τὴν τοῦ λόγου κένωσιν Ἀββακούμ φράσον.

Fol. 77. Headpiece of the *Canticle of Isaiah* (Isaiah 26:9-20) which continues on folio 77^v (fig. 15). Isaiah stands in prayer between the allegorical figures of Night and Dawn; he raises his head and hands toward the Hand of God emerging from the arc of heaven. A three-quarter length figure of the Prophet, identified by an inscription, is drawn inside the initial Ε; his outstretched arms, forming the horizontal bar, are directed toward the bust of Christ in

⁹ Ch. Astruc, "Un psautier byzantin à frontispices: le suppl. gr. 610," *Cahiers archéologiques*, III (1948), pp. 111-13, fig. 3.

the outer margin. The title of the Canticle, written in gilt uncials, reads, Ὑψαίου πρόρρησις εὐχῆς τὸ πλεόν.

Fol. 78 (in the Benaki Museum). Headpiece of the *Canticle of Jonah* (Jonah 2:3–10) which continues on the verso (fig. 17). The sea, hemmed in by mountains, fills the lower left-hand corner of the miniature; Jonah's bust issues from the mouth of the whale whose body is cut off by the frame. Behind Jonah is the personification of the Abyss, identified by the inscription Βυθός; the paint has flaked and only the outlines of this figure, the trident, and the left hand remain. On the right, Jonah stands in prayer next to the gourd plant; the arc of heaven toward which the Prophet is meant to be gazing has again been omitted. A rocky landscape fills the greater part of the miniature; on the left, in the distance, can be seen the gate of Nineveh with trees rising above it. The half effaced figure of Jonah is drawn inside the initial Ε and there is a bust of Christ in the outer margin. The title, in gilt uncials, reads: Ἐκ Θηρ(ός) ἐκράυγασεν Ἰωνᾶς λέγων.

Fol. 78^v (in the Benaki Museum). *The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace* (fig. 18). They are clad in the usual Persian costume; the one in the middle stands frontally in the attitude of an orant; the other two are turned toward him. The angel, standing behind them slightly off center, lays a protecting hand on the shoulder of the young man on the extreme left and directs his lance against the two servants, one of whom has turned his face away from the flames.

The Canticle of the Three Hebrews (fols. 79–80) is divided into three parts, each one preceded by a title in gilt uncials and with the figure of one of the young men in the initial, his hands stretched toward a bust of Christ in the outer margin. On folio 79, the figure is identified as *Ananias* (fig. 19) and the title reads: Αἰν(ος) φλόγα σβέννυσσι τῶν τριῶν Νέων (Daniel 3:36–51). On folio 79^v the figure is identified as *Azarias* (fig. 20) and the title reads: Τῶν εὐσεβ(ῶν) ὕμνησις ἦν ἡδον Νέων (Daniel 3:52–56). On folio 80 the figure is identified as *Misael* (fig. 21) and the title reads: Τὸν Δεσπότην ὕψωσον ἡ κτιστ(ῶν) φύσις (Daniel 3:57–88).

Fol. 80^v. *Annunciation and Seated Virgin* (fig. 22 and frontispiece), headpiece of the Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55) which continues on folio 81. The two scenes are separated from one another by rocky hills; the angel and the Virgin stand above the ledge; below, the Virgin is seated frontally, next to a small house, the door of which stands open; she holds an open book and points to the words which must be those of her prayer. The Visitation is represented inside the initial M; the Virgin is on the left, as usual, and identified, moreover, by an inscription; the title of the scene ὁ ἀσπασμός is written in the margin. The title of the Canticle, in gilt uncials, reads: Τὸν υἱὸν ὕμνεῖ κ(αὶ) Θ(εὸ)ν μή(τη)ρ κόρη.

Fol. 81. *Canticle of Zacharias* (Luke 2:68–79). Zacharias, identified by an inscription, stands inside the initial Ε; his hands, forming the horizontal bar, are extended toward the bust of Christ in the outer margin (fig. 23).

Fol. 81^v. *Canticle of Hezekiah* (fig. 24), headpiece of the Canticle (Isaiah 38:10–20) which continues on folio 82. Hezekiah, crowned and wearing a long tunic

and a chlamys, prays in the attitude of proskynesis; behind him stands a female figure, probably the personification of prayer, clad in a sleeveless, red dress; she bends slightly forward, and her right hand barely touches the kneeling King. The throne is placed inside a rectangular structure on the left. The kneeling figure of Hezekiah, identified by an inscription, is repeated inside the initial and forms the horizontal bar of the letter Ε. The title in gilt uncials reads: Τὸν Ἑζεκίαν εὐλογοῦντά μοι σκόπει.

Fol. 82^v. Headpiece of the *Prayer of Manasseh* (fig. 25) which ends on fol. 84. Manasseh, clad in imperial costume, stands in the midst of a mountainous landscape; his veiled hands are raised in prayer and he gazes upward, following the gesture of a tall, female figure who points to the arc of heaven. The standing figure of Manasseh, identified by an inscription, and holding a long, inscribed scroll, forms the initial K. The title, in gilt uncials, reads: Σωθεὶς Μανασῆς τὸν Θεὸν μεγαλύνει.

Fols. 84^v–85^v. The Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9–13); the Canticle of Symeon (Luke 2:29–32); the Beatitudes (Matt. 5:3–12)

Fols. 86^v–87 (missing). *Portraits of Donors*, of later date (figs. 26–27).¹⁰ On folio 86^v the protomartyr Stephen, dressed as a deacon, lays a protecting hand on the shoulder of the monk John, and presents him to the Virgin (represented on the opposite page); behind the two stands the "hieromonachos" Gregory, holding a closed book in his left hand. The Virgin (fol. 87), with the Christ Child on her left knee, is seated on a large wooden throne with curved back; Christ appears to be wearing the imperial loros over his tunic. Inscriptions:

fol. 86^v. Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ

Γρηγορίου ἱερομονάχου καὶ

πνευματικοῦ πατρός

ὁ ἅγιος Στέφανος

ὁ πρωτόμαρτυρ

Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ

Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ

fol. 87. μήτηρ Θεοῦ

ἡ σπυλαιώτισσα

Fol. 87^v missing. Inscription of late date, stating that the manuscript belongs to the Pantokrator Monastery.¹¹

The New Testament begins on folio 88 with the letter of Eusebius written on the recto and verso, without an ornamental frame.

Fols. 89–93^v. Canon tables written inside simple, arched frames.

Fol. 94^{r-v}. Preface and index of the Gospel of Matthew.

Fols. 95–127^v. Gospel of Matthew. The *Portrait of Matthew* is painted inside the square headpiece (fig. 28). He is seated, meditating, his right hand resting on the open book on his knees. A long scroll hangs from the lectern placed above the rectangular desk. A standing figure of Matthew, identified by an

¹⁰ Photos: Ecole des Hautes Etudes, C 6129–6130

¹¹ Cf. photostat owned by the late Robert P. Blake; photo in the Dumbarton Oaks files.

inscription and holding a closed book, forms the vertical bar of the initial B; the three figures in the outer margin are almost entirely effaced, but the accompanying inscriptions help us to identify them as Christ, above, and David and Solomon, below.

Fol. 128^{r-v}. Preface and index of the Gospel of Mark.

Fols. 129–149^v. Gospel of Mark. The *Portrait of Mark* is painted inside the square headpiece (fig. 29); he is seated in front of his desk; his right hand, holding the pen, rests on the paper lying on his knee, while his left touches the fish-shaped lectern on which an open book is placed. The initial A is formed by the tall figure of Christ standing on a footstool, on the right, and laying his hand on the head of the small figure of Mark, identified by an inscription. The figure of John the Baptist, in the outer margin, is almost entirely effaced, but can be recognized thanks to its inscription; he seems to be wearing a short tunic and he holds a cross-staff.

Fol. 150^{r-v}. Preface and index of the Gospel of Luke.

Fols. 151–186^v. Gospel of Luke. The *Portrait of Luke* is painted inside the square headpiece (fig. 30); he bends forward to write on a large leaf propped against his left knee; a scroll hangs over a fish-shaped lectern placed on a square table. A standing figure of Luke, identified by an inscription, is placed inside the initial E; the Evangelist's outstretched hand forms the horizontal bar of the letter. The three figures in the outer margin, which again can be recognized because of the accompanying inscriptions, are Theophilus, above, and Zacharias and Elizabeth, below.

Fol. 187 (missing). The preface and index of the Gospel of John were written on the recto and the *Portraits of John and Prochoros* were painted on the verso (fig. 31).¹² John stands on the right, his head turned toward the Hand of God emerging from the arc of heaven, his right hand extended toward Prochoros, who, seated on the ground on the left, writes on a leaf he holds with his left hand.

Fols. 188–213^v. Gospel of John, beginning with chapter 1:26 (ὁ μὲν στήκει...).

Fol. 214. On the recto, index of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles; on the verso, preface of the Acts written in the shape of a cross.

Fols. 215–249^v. Acts of the Apostles. *Luke* is represented inside the square headpiece (fig. 32); he bends forward to write on a large leaf propped against his left knee; opposite him stand the Apostles in a compact group, identified by the accompanying inscription: οἱ ἑνδεκά ἀπόστολοι. A standing figure of Luke, identified by an inscription, forms the bar of the initial T; hardly any trace remains of the figure of Theophilus in the outer margin and only his name can be deciphered.

Fol. 249^v. Preface of the Epistle of James.

Fols. 250–253 Epistle of James. Inside the square headpiece (fig. 33) *James* is seated in the same attitude as the Evangelist Mark, his right hand holding a pen and resting on the paper on his knees, his left hand touching the lectern

¹² For the recto, cf. photostat owned by the late R. P. Blake; photo in the Dumbarton Oaks files. Verso, photo: Ecole des Hautes Etudes, C 6125.

on which a book is placed. A standing figure of James forms the initial I; he is turned toward Christ, standing in the outer margin.

Fol. 253^v. Preface of the Epistles of Peter (fig. 34). Luke, identified by an inscription, stands inside the initial E, and is writing the text of the preface; the title ὑπόθεσις τῆς Πέτρου ἐπιστολῆς is written in uncials inside four circles lodged in the angles of the cruciform text.

Fol. 254 (in the Cleveland Museum of Art). *Headpiece of the First Epistle of Peter* (fig. 35), which ends on folio 257^v.¹³ Peter, blessing and holding a scroll, stands in front of an elaborate architectural structure over which a red veil has been thrown. The initial Π is formed by Christ blessing Peter. Both are identified by inscriptions.

Fols. 257^v–258. Preface to the Second Epistle of Peter.

Fols. 258–260. Second Epistle of Peter. The beginning of the text on folio 258 (figs. 36, 59) is preceded by a narrow, ornate band. Peter stands inside the initial C. A section of the outer margin, which probably had an image of Christ, has been cut off.

Fol. 260^r and ^v. Preface to the First Epistle of John (figs. 37, 60). The initial is formed by a figure of Luke, identified by an inscription; the Evangelist is shown standing and writing. John stands in the outer margin; he holds a half-open book and turns toward Luke.

Fols. 261–264^v. First Epistle of John (fig. 38). *John*, seated, writing on a large sheet held in his left hand, occupies the headpiece; a scroll hangs over a lectern placed on a desk. A bust of John, identified by an inscription, is painted inside the initial O.

Fol. 264^v. Preface to the Second Epistle.

Fols. 264^v–265. Second Epistle of John, preceded by a narrow, ornate band. The bust figure of John is painted, as before, inside the initial O (fig. 39).

Fol. 265. Preface to the Third Epistle.

Fol. 265^v. Third Epistle of John. Initial O with bust of John (fig. 40).

Fol. 266. Preface to the Epistle of Jude written in the shape of a cross.

Fols. 266^v–267^v. Epistle of Jude (fig. 41). *Jude* stands in front of an elaborate architectural setting, his head turned to the left. His standing figure is repeated to form the initial I; turning slightly to the left, he addresses Christ, who is represented in the margin next to him, while the figure of James occupies the inner margin; identifying inscriptions accompany all three figures.

Fols. 267^v–269. Travels of Saint Paul and preface to the Epistle to the Romans.

Fols. 269^v–281^v. Epistle to the Romans (fig. 42).¹⁴ *Paul*, seated in an armchair, writes in an open book; a veiled woman leans over the back of his chair and a young man stands, facing them, next to the desk on which another book has been placed. The initial Π is formed by Jesus and Paul, identified by inscriptions.

Fol. 282. Preface to the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

Fols. 282^v–293^v. First Epistle to the Corinthians preceded by a narrow, ornate band; initial Π as on folio 269^v (fig. 43).

¹³ On folio 254^v the text continues as far as 1:21.

¹⁴ The last verses of the Epistle, 16:25–27, have been omitted.

Fol. 294. Preface to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

Fols. 294^v–302^v. Second Epistle to the Corinthians, preceded by a narrow, ornate band; initial Π as before (figs. 44, 61).

Fols. 302^v–303. Preface to the Epistle to the Galatians.

Fols. 303–306^v. Epistle to the Galatians, preceded by a narrow, ornate band; initial Π as before (fig. 45).

Fols. 306^v–307. Preface to the Epistle to the Ephesians.

Fols. 307–311. Epistle to the Ephesians, preceded by a narrow, ornate band; initial Π as before (fig. 46).

Fol. 311^v. Preface to the Epistle to the Philippians.

Fols. 311^v–314^v. Epistle to the Philippians, preceded by a narrow, ornate band. The initial Π is formed by the standing figures of Timothy and Paul, identified by inscriptions, and a bust of Christ blessing them (figs. 47, 62).

Fol. 314^v. Preface to the Epistle to the Colossians.

Fols. 315–317^v. Epistle to the Colossians, preceded by a narrow, ornate band; again the initial Π is formed by Timothy and Paul blessed by Christ (fig. 48).

Fols. 317^v–318. Preface to the First Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Fols. 318–320^v. First Epistle to the Thessalonians, preceded by a narrow band; the initial Π is formed by the standing figures of Silvanus and Paul; Timothy is depicted in the outer margin (fig. 49). All three are identified by inscriptions.

Fols. 320^v–321. Preface to the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Fols. 321–322^v. Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, preceded by a narrow, ornate band; again the initial Π is formed by Silvanus and Paul, and Timothy is depicted in the margin (fig. 50).

Fols. 322^v–323. Preface to the First Epistle to Timothy.

Fols. 323–326. First Epistle to Timothy, preceded by a narrow, ornate band; the initial Π is formed by the standing figures of Jesus and Paul (fig. 51).

Fol. 326^r and ^v. Preface to the Second Epistle to Timothy.

Fols. 326^v–328^v. Second Epistle to Timothy, preceded by a narrow, ornate band; initial Π as before (fig. 52).

Fol. 329. Preface to the Epistle to Titus.

Fols. 329–330^v. Epistle to Titus, preceded by a narrow, ornate band; initial Π as before (fig. 53).

Fol. 330^v. Preface to the Epistle to Philemon.

Fols. 330^v–331. Epistle to Philemon, preceded by a narrow, ornate band; initial Π as before. Timothy stands close to it, on the left (fig. 54 and frontispiece).

Fol. 331^v. Preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Fols. 331^v–340^v. Epistle to the Hebrews preceded by a narrow, ornate band; the initial Π is formed by the standing figures of Jesus and Paul; a group of Hebrews stands in the lower margin (fig. 55). Fol. 340^v ends with Hebrews 13:20.

Fols. 341–360 are paper leaves added in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. They contain, in addition to the last verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a number of different texts:

Fol. 341. End of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Fols. 341–347. Tables of Gospel and Epistle lessons for the various liturgical cycles.

Fols. 347–350. A spiritual discourse by Abba Ammon

Inc. Τήρει σαυτὸν ἀκριβῶς...

Fol. 350. Anonymous spiritual discourse

Inc. Ἐὰν εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ

Fol. 351. Anonymous spiritual discourse Περὶ βίου [λίαν ἐπωφελοῦς καὶ σωτηρίου] ^{14a}

Inc. Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ἀδελφοί...

Fol. 352. Order of the *Mesonyktikon* for weekdays.

Fols. 352^v–353. Order of the *Mesonyktikon* for Saturdays.

Fols. 353–354^v. Canon of the *Mesonyktikon*.

Fols. 354^v–355. Order of the *Orthros* and *Prime*.

Fols. 355–356. Order of *Tierce*, *Sext*, and *None*.

Fol. 356. Order of *Typika*.

Fols. 356^v–357^v. Liturgical indications for Lent.

Fols. 357^v–359^v. Canon to Christ and the Virgin.

Fols. 359^v–360^v. Prayer before sleep.

STUDY OF THE MINIATURES

The miniatures, painted against a gold background, are characteristic examples of the art of the late eleventh century. Their Constantinopolitan origin is proved by the delicate elegance of the figures and, above all, by close stylistic similarities with illustrations of manuscripts which we know from their colophons to have been executed in the capital, for instance, Paris, suppl. gr. 1096, a Gospel book copied by Peter Grammaticus of the school of the Chalco-prateia in 1070,¹⁵ or the Psalter of the Vatican, cod. gr. 342, written in 1088 by Michael Attaliates.¹⁶ Because of the smaller size of these two codices, their paintings can better be compared with those of our manuscript than can the portraits in the luxury copy of the Homilies of John Chrysostom, Paris, Coislin 79, commissioned by Nicephorus Botaniates (1078–1081).¹⁷

The light colors, with a predominance of delicate blues, used during the early eleventh century, still prevail, but, as in other works of the latter part of that century, vivid touches given by bright reds occur more frequently. Thus, in the scene of the Birth of David (fig. 3) the soft blue of the mother's robe is set off by the vermilion tunics of the first and the third attendant standing behind the couch, and of the servant in the foreground. Similarly, in the Crossing of the Red Sea (fig. 9), Moses, clad in a blue tunic and light mauve

^{14a} The title is almost illegible today; the words included in brackets are restored according to the description by S. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I (Cambridge, 1895), p. 98.

¹⁵ *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des MSS grecs*: Ch. Astruc and M. L. Concasty, *Le supplément grec*, III, nos. 901–1371 (Paris, 1960), pp. 227–8; K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (Boston, 1935), IV, pls. 299–300.

¹⁶ R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Selecti* (Rome, 1937), II, p. 16. For reproductions, see M. Bonicatti, "Un salterio greco miniato del periodo comneno: Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. gr. 565, già 113, cl. II. Naniano 167," *Bullettino dell' Archivio Paleografico Italiano*, N.S. II–III (1956–57), pt. 1, pls. VIII.1, XIV.1, XVII.2.

¹⁷ H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pls. LXI–LXIV.

mantle, is framed by two figures dressed in red. This predilection of the artist for bright hues has led him to paint in red even the veil deployed above the head of the personification of Night (fig. 15), whereas, not only in the Parisinus gr. 139 but also in the Psalter in Paris, suppl. gr. 610, which can be dated in the early eleventh century, the blue veil gives a more faithful image of night (fig. 16).

The comparison with this last named manuscript, where we have three compositions identical with those of our manuscript (figs. 11–16), shows the gradual transformation of the style. The painterly manner, the color-modelling, with very delicate lines to indicate the features or the folds, the subtle use of high lights have given place to a more linear treatment. The contour lines are more accentuated, as are also the small, angular pleats drawn over the smooth surfaces of the legs. These lines form a pleasing design in some of the finest figures, like that of Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law (fig. 10); the swallow-tailed folds of the edge of the mantle, falling from the raised arms, add to the decorative effect. Our painter never uses the gold hatchings so prominent in the “Theodore” Psalter (British Museum Add. 19352) illustrated at the Studios Monastery in 1066, and in related manuscripts such as Paris, gr. 74, and if this is a workshop mannerism, we must conclude that our manuscript was illustrated in some other Constantinopolitan scriptorium.

In comparison with the miniatures of Paris, suppl. gr. 610, and of other manuscripts of the early eleventh century, the forms are more slender and the feeling of bodily weight is further attenuated. Another trait of the late eleventh century is to bring the figures almost to the edge of the lower frame and to reduce the width of the foreground band; the mountains or the architectural settings act as a backdrop instead of giving a feeling of space. A difference in degree may again be noted by comparing the illustrations of the Canticles of Hannah, Isaiah, and Habakkuk with the corresponding compositions of Paris, suppl. gr. 610, where the figures stand at a short distance from the lower band of the frame (figs. 11–16).

The landscape backgrounds of several miniatures illustrating the Canticles of the Psalter are derived from earlier representations of these same scenes, but the step-faced peaks of the mountains, sharply marked by high lights, form more regular patterns and they contrast with the smooth, uniform surfaces of the lower slopes. To the same more or less distant prototypes belong those architectural elements which form part of the classical landscape. In the Cantic of Jonah the gate of Nineveh, with the trees rising above it, has the appearance of a *villa rustica* (fig. 17).¹⁸ In the Prayer of Manasseh the column with a tall cubic base (fig. 25) is a modified form of a motif used in the Joshua Roll—the tower placed on top of a cubic structure—which in turn is derived from the tower of the classical sacred grove.¹⁹ The sacred tree precinct has been transformed into a columnar building in the Cantic of Hannah (fig. 11) and a pedimental structure reduced to a decorative motif, on the right.

¹⁸ K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll. A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1948), pp. 75–78 for this and the following examples.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, figs. 31, 34, and 61.

In other compositions, especially in the portraits which adorn the Psalter and the New Testament, the architectural settings conform to the types currently used from the tenth century on. In two instances, namely, in the headpieces of the Epistles of Peter and of Jude (figs. 35, 41), tower-like constructions at either end are joined by means of a wall, recessed at the center to form an angular niche. We have here a simpler version of the complex structures frequently represented behind the standing saints in the Menologium of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613); the columnar types predominate in this manuscript, but the recessed wall with towers at each end is also to be seen.²⁰ The simple form of our manuscript is paralleled by a number of contemporary or slightly later examples, for instance, the portraits in the Menologiums of Paris, cod. gr. 1528 and of London, Brit. Mus. Add. 11870,²¹ or in the Synaxary section of the Lectionary of Dionysiou, no. 587 (formerly 740).²²

The other type of architectural setting—rectangular buildings joined by a straight wall—is the one commonly used during this period for the portraits of evangelists.²³ Occasionally, as in the portraits of David (figs. 4, 5), several tall buildings, some covered by a barrel vault, are grouped on one side. The ciborium placed behind the desk in the portrait of James (fig. 33) becomes a purely ornamental feature in other representations (figs. 5, 28).

Before passing to the iconographic study of the illustrations a few words should be said about the anthropomorphic initials. Byzantine painters, unlike those of western Europe, did not at first favor ornate letters formed by an animal or by a human figure. These appear occasionally in manuscripts of the tenth century and are used increasingly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In some instances they have a purely decorative character; that is to say, even when they are constituted by human figures, they are in no way connected with the content of the text. This is true, for instance, of the dancers, acrobats, and musicians which form the initials of a copy of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Turin.²⁴ More often, however, these anthropomorphic letters are part of the illustration of the text. The simplest type consists of the portraits of the authors whose writings they accompany, as in our manuscript; in more elaborate examples several figures, disposed so as to delineate the shape of the letter, compose an entire scene.²⁵

Our manuscript belongs to that group of illustrated Psalters which, ever since Tikkanen's basic study, have been designated as the aristocratic Psalters. The characteristic features of these full-page illustrations are the following. A

²⁰ *Il Menologio di Basilio II. Cod. Vaticano greco 1613* (Turin, 1907), pp. 74, 116, 124, 192, 226, 263, 265.

²¹ G. F. Warner, *British Museum. Reproductions from Illuminated MSS.*, 1st Ser. (1907), No. 1, pl. I.

²² K. Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustration," *New Testament Studies*, ed. by M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren (Chicago, 1950), pl. xx, fig. 1.

²³ See several examples in A. M. Friend Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies* (1927), pls. xiv, xviii.

²⁴ Turin cod. C, I, 6/16: A. Grabar, "Une pyxide en ivoire à Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), pp. 143-4, fig. 35a-e.

²⁵ See, for instance, Omont, *op. cit.*, pls. cvii-cxiv, and A. Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 8 (1954), figs. 5-23.

varying number of miniatures, comprising scenes from the life of David in addition to his portraits, precede the first Psalm. Within the Psalter text there are miniatures only for the fiftieth Psalm (the Penitence Psalm); the seventy-seventh Psalm, with which the second part of the Psalter begins; and the supplementary Psalm 151. Then come the miniatures which accompany the Canticles. It has been generally recognized that, in the main, the illustrations of our Psalter belong to the recension of which the Paris Psalter, no. 139, is the most famous representative. There are, however, a number of differences, some of which, as we shall see, point to a gradual modification of the general scheme of aristocratic Psalters.

The illustrations begin with the image of the Cross and the representations of the Virgin and saints (figs. 1-2). The presence of these Christian themes is not due to the fact that the manuscript includes the books of the New Testament, for they are also found in other codices which are exclusively Psalters; they are indicative, rather, of a change which may have begun in the course of the eleventh century. There is considerable divergency between these manuscripts. The example closest to ours is the contemporary Psalter of the Theological Seminary in Berlin, no. 3807, in which the illustration begins with an image of the Cross with the inscription IC XC NIKA, followed by the Virgin and Child and saints, as in our manuscript.²⁶ The only difference is that the Virgin Eleousa, represented in bust form, stands between two archangels, whereas the presence of John the Baptist in our miniature confers on the composition a symbolical meaning, connected with the rite of the Proskomide.²⁷ Images of the Virgin occur at the beginning of other Psalters. In a manuscript in Vienna, Theol. gr. 336, which can be dated *ca.* 1077, she is enthroned with the Christ Child on her knees,²⁸ while in a slightly later Psalter at the Marciana in Venice, cod. 565, she stands holding the Child in front of her.²⁹ Portraits of saints, as well as that of the Virgin and Child, are to be seen in a Psalter and New Testament of the Vatopedi Monastery, no. 762 (formerly 610): The Virgin, holding the Christ Child, is represented standing between two archangels, on folio 17 before the beginning of the Psalter, while three Church Fathers are found on folio 88^v, after the Canticles (figs. 56-57).³⁰ We have, thus, quite a large group of Psalters with full-page miniatures of the Virgin and, at times, of the Church Fathers.

The frontispiece of the Psalter proper comprises only four images: two biographical scenes and two portraits. The former, grouped on the same page (fig. 3), confront David's birth according to the flesh with his spiritual birth

²⁶ G. Stuhlfauth, "A Greek Psalter with Byzantine Miniatures," *Art Bulletin*, XV (1933), pp. 311-26; figs. 6 and 7; in the group of Church Fathers Gregory of Nazianzus is replaced by Nicholas of Myra. On the following page the Deesis is represented (fig. 8).

²⁷ S. Der Nersessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), pp. 75-7.

²⁸ P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die Byzantinischen Handschriften (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, N.S., IV)*, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1938), pl. XII. The Crucifixion is represented on the next folio.

²⁹ M. Bonicatti, *op. cit.*, pl. 1. The Virgin is designated as the Kyriotissa.

³⁰ Photos: Archives photographiques, A 4576, A 4583.

when, by being anointed, "the spirit of the Lord came upon" him (I Samuel. 16:13). The birth of David, not mentioned in the Bible, but represented in the aristocratic Psalter in Athens, no. 7, and in a Vatican codex, no. 752, which belongs to another recension,³¹ is patterned on the Nativity of the Virgin. The Anointing scene closely follows the iconographic scheme used in the Paris Psalter, no. 139, in the Book of Kings, Vatican gr. 333, and in the Vatican Bible, cod. reg. gr. 1.³²

The two portraits of David differ from the types used in the Paris Psalter and related manuscripts. Instead of the young musician, inspired by Melody, the aged King is represented receiving his inspiration directly from the Lord, who presents a scroll to him; in the second miniature he is seated, like the evangelists, in front of his desk, in the act of writing the psalms (figs. 4-5). These two images do not occur together in any other Psalter known to me, but the composition in a manuscript slightly older than ours, Bodleian, Clark 15, dated A.D. 1078, may be considered a conflation of the two: David is seated writing, while a three-quarter length figure of Christ appears in the arc of heaven holding an open scroll.³³ The representation of David rising from his throne to receive the scroll is repeated in a twelfth-century Psalter in the Vatican, cod. Barb. gr. 320.³⁴ The seated King, writing, is also rather rare: in a Psalter in Milan, Ambros, cod. 54, he is accompanied by an allegorical figure,³⁵ but in the Venice Psalter, cod. gr. 565, he appears alone in an elaborate architectural frame.³⁶

Thus, except for the Anointing of David, the initial miniatures of our Psalter diverge from the iconographic tradition represented by the Parisinus; they find their closest analogies in manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and, together with other miniatures to be discussed below, they show a later development in the illustration of the aristocratic Psalters.

The earlier tradition is better preserved in some of the miniatures that illustrate the Psalms and the Canticles. Thus, in the David and Goliath scenes (fig. 8) we find only the two protagonists, as in the Vatican Book of Kings, cod. gr. 333, without the allegorical figures and the companies of soldiers

³¹ P. Buberl, *Die Miniaturenhandschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Athen*. Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-hist. Kl., 60, Abt. 2 (Vienna, 1917), fig. 37; E. T. DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 752*. The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, III, pt. 2 (Princeton, 1942), pl. 1; a complete cycle of the life of Christ precedes the Psalter illustrations in this manuscript, pls. XI-XIII. The birth of David is also represented on the ivory casket in the Palazzo di Venezia in Rome.

³² H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. III. J. Lassus, "Les miniatures byzantines du Livre des Rois," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XIV (1928), pp. 38-74, pl. II, fig. 4; *Miniature della bibbia cod. Vat. Regin. greco 1 e del salterio cod. Vat. Palat. greco 381*. Collezione paleografica Vaticana, fasc. 1 (Milan, 1905), pl. 12. The anointing of David is also represented in the Psalters in the Vatican, Barb. gr. 320 (fol. 1^v) and in the British Museum, Add. 36928 (fol. 44).

³³ K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscript to the year 1200*, II (Boston, 1934), pl. 110.

³⁴ Bonicatti, *op. cit.*, pl. v.2. The other two portraits in this manuscript represent David as king, standing frontally with an open book in his hand and blessed by Christ in the arc of heaven, and the young David inspired by Melody; *ibid.*, pls. XIV. 2 and II.2.

³⁵ H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938), fig. 23.

³⁶ M. Bonicatti, *op. cit.*, pl. III. The preceding miniature (fol. 51^v) represents him inspired by Melody (*ibid.*, pl. II.1). In the manuscript in Vienna, Theol. gr. 336, David, holding an open book, is seated frontally (Buberl and Gerstinger, *op. cit.*, pl. XII).

represented in the Parisinus.³⁷ In the Berlin Psalter the fight and the beheading, depicted as in our manuscript, are also grouped on the same page.³⁸ In the Crossing of the Red Sea (fig. 9) the action is not continuous; instead, the Israelites are placed above the Egyptians, and Moses stands in the center as in the Parisinus;³⁹ of the many allegorical figures, only that of Abyss has been retained, and once again the composition closely resembles the miniatures of the Berlin Psalter, and of another Psalter of approximately the same date as ours, Vatican, gr. 342, of the year 1087–88.⁴⁰ The illustration of the Canticle of Jonah (fig. 17) is also ultimately derived from a composition similar to the one in the Paris Psalter;⁴¹ the praying figure of Jonah, brought to the foreground, stands next to the scene where he is ejected by the whale; the hand of God has been omitted, as has also the group of Jonah and the Ninevites, and the city of Nineveh has the appearance of a *villa rustica*, half hidden by the mountains; but we find, behind the whale, the personification of Abyss absent from the Parisinus, though the figure is represented in the eleventh-century Psalter of Vatopedi, cod. no. 760 (formerly no. 608).⁴² Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law (fig. 10), which illustrates his second Canticle, as in the Parisinus, instead of Psalm 77, is also, in part, a simpler version of the same iconographic type;⁴³ the elements common to both compositions are the personification of Mount Sinai, the group of Israelites, and Moses himself, though in our manuscript Moses is turned to the right, as in the corresponding scenes of the Octateuchs and of several Psalters.⁴⁴ The principal difference resides in the absence of the second image of Moses, which in the Parisinus stands on the right and looks up to the Hand of God. By omitting this figure, as well as the representations of Moses loosening his sandals and showing the tablets of the law to the Israelites, which are to be seen in the Berlin Psalter and on a leaf from a Vatopedi Psalter now in the Walters Art Gallery,⁴⁵ the painter of our manuscript has created a more impressive and unified composition. Only the flaming bush, beyond the discarded sandals of Moses, suggests an episode other than the main event: that is, the giving of the law.

The illustration of the Penitence Psalm (fig. 6) differs from the iconographic type to be seen in the Parisinus, the Jerusalem Psalter, Taphou 51, and the

³⁷ J. Lassus, *op. cit.*, pl. iv, figs. 6–7; H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. iv.

³⁸ Stuhlfauth, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.

³⁹ H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. ix.

⁴⁰ M. Bonicatti, *op. cit.*, pl. viii.1. Stuhlfauth, *op. cit.*, fig. 14.

⁴¹ H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xii.

⁴² G. Millet and S. Der Nersessian, "Le psautier arménien illustré," *Revue des études arméniennes*, IX (1920), p. 177, pl. xiii, 1.

⁴³ H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. x.

⁴⁴ Vatican, gr. 747: K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1947), fig. 165. Smyrna, MS A. I.; D. C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne* (Leiden, 1909), pl. 63, no. 201. Moses is also turned to the right in the Psalters in Berlin, no. 3807 (Stuhlfauth, *op. cit.*, fig. 11) and Vatopedi, no. 761 (leaf now in the Walters Art Gallery: K. Weitzmann, "The Psalter Vatopedi 761. Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* [1947], pp. 20–51, fig. 1), but these compositions do not comprise the allegorical figure and the group of Israelites next to it. These figures occur in the Vatican Bible (*Miniature della bibbia*, pl. 10) and the Vatican Psalter, Barb. gr. 320 (formerly III 39), where Moses is shown presenting the stone tablets to the Israelites (Tikkanen, *op. cit.*, fig. 128; Bonicatti, *op. cit.*, pl. vi.2).

⁴⁵ See references in note 44

Vatican Book of Kings.⁴⁶ Instead of first representing David admonished by Nathan, then repentant and praying, the prostrate figure of David is introduced between his image seated on the throne, and that of Nathan, standing on the right. Thus David's supplication is addressed to the Prophet, instead of to God, and in this respect the representation is related to the compositions in the Paris Gregory of Nazianzus, gr. 510, and the Psalter of Basil II.⁴⁷ The disposition of the three figures of our miniature recurs in two Psalters of the Vatican, cod. gr. 752 and 1927,⁴⁸ but, whereas in these examples the angel is a half-length figure, above David, in ours he stands behind the throne with drawn sword, as in the Book of Kings and Paris gr. 510.

The miniatures considered thus far represent events mentioned or implied in the texts to which they are attached. To this first group also belong the Canticle of The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, the illustration of which presents no special problem and follows the usual type (fig. 18), and the Canticle of Hezekiah (fig. 24), which I should like to discuss later. There are, however, several Canticles which, strictly speaking, have no subject matter. The opening words of Isaiah's prayer: "With my soul have I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early" (26:9) had served as a source of inspiration for the beautiful composition of the prophet praying between the allegorical figures of Night and Dawn (fig. 15), repeated in several manuscripts.⁴⁹ But for most of the others, the miniaturists, especially those of a later date, simply represented the author of the Canticle in prayer. In our manuscript we have a different approach in three instances, namely, the Canticles of Hannah, Habakkuk, and the Virgin; however, these compositions were not invented for our manuscript, since identical compositions for the first two Canticles named may be seen in the slightly older Psalter in Paris, suppl. gr. 610 (figs. 11-14, 22).

In each instance a scene taken from the life of the author of the Canticle is added to his or her image. Thus, Hannah seated with the infant Samuel on her knees appears next to Hannah praying (figs. 11-12). The first scene is an interpretation rather than an illustration of the biblical text, since Hannah recited her prayer after she had brought her child to Eli, the scene represented in the Book of Kings,⁵⁰ but it is an image appropriate to the prayer of thanksgiving for the birth of her son, which it accompanies. We have a somewhat different interpretation in the Psalter in Athens, no. 7, where the young Samuel, praying, faces his mother;⁵¹ while in a Psalter in Leningrad, Publ.

⁴⁶ H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII. A. Baumstark, "Ein rudimentäres Exemplar der griechischen Psalter-illustration durch Ganzseitenbilder," *Oriens Christianus*, N.S., II (1912), pp. 107-19, pl. III. J. Lassus, *op. cit.*, pl. v, fig. 9.

⁴⁷ H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII, 1; Buchthal, *op. cit.*, fig. 26.

⁴⁸ E. DeWald, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI. *Idem*, *Vaticanus graecus 1927* (Princeton, 1941) pl. XXII; here the composition is reversed.

⁴⁹ H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII. Vatican gr. 755: A. Munoz, *I codici greci miniati delle minori biblioteche di Roma* (Florence, 1905), pl. 6. The Bristol Psalter: M. Philipps Perry, "An Unnoticed Byzantine Psalter," *The Burlington Magazine*, 38 (1921), pp. 119ff., 282ff., and pl. III.

⁵⁰ J. Lassus, *op. cit.* p. 69, miniature on fol. 6; there is no representation of Hannah reciting her prayer; *ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵¹ Folio 237^v. Photo: Ecole des Hautes Etudes, C 1298.

Libr., gr. 214, the same two figures, blessed by Christ, form the initial of the Canticle.⁵²

It was more difficult to find an image for the Canticle of Habakkuk, for neither in the prayer nor in the other chapters of this Prophet's book is there any passage which could easily lend itself to a pictorial rendering. Some painters have turned their attention to the opening sentence, as they had done for Isaiah's Canticle, and represented Habakkuk listening in fear, in accordance with the words: "O Lord, I have heard thy speech and was afraid" (3:2).⁵³ In order to find a scene from the life of Habakkuk which could be added to the praying figure, the miniaturist who first devised the composition copied in our manuscript and in Paris, suppl. gr. 610 (figs. 13-14) had to turn to the only passage in the Bible where Habakkuk is mentioned, namely, to the apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon which, in the edition of the Septuagint, occurs in Daniel 14:32-38.⁵⁴ According to this account, Habakkuk was preparing a meal when the angel of the Lord appeared to him and ordered him to take the food to Daniel who was in the den of lions in Babylon. Habakkuk replied that he knew not where Babylon or the den was to be found, whereupon the angel seized him by the hair of his head and carried him swiftly through the air. This scene, which forms part of the Daniel story, has been detached from the composition of Daniel in the den of lions, with which it is sometimes represented,⁵⁵ and placed here, since it is the only known episode in the life of the Prophet; the illustrators have also taken over the personification of Babylon which belongs to the Daniel story.

The Annunciation and the seated Virgin in the headpiece of the Magnificat (fig. 22) give us another example of the juxtaposition of scene and portrait; in this instance the Visitation has been added in the initial so that we have the two major episodes which preceded the Thanksgiving Canticle recited by Mary. These scenes from the life of the Virgin appear in other aristocratic Psalters: the Annunciation is illustrated in Athens, no. 7 and Jerusalem, Taphou 53,⁵⁶ while in the Psalter in Venice, cod. gr. 563, the Visitation is represented in the headpiece and the Annunciation forms the initial M.⁵⁷ The Virgin seated and pointing to the open book has not been repeated in other Psalters,⁵⁸ but, as has been suggested by K. Weitzmann, echoes of such an

⁵² V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantiiskoi zhivopisi* (Moscow, 1948) pl. 137. *Idem*, "Tsarigradskaia litsevaia psaltir XIV." *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, III (1950), pp. 211-17, fig. 7.

⁵³ For instance, in Athens MS 15: Buberl, *op. cit.*, fig. 52.

⁵⁴ Apocryphal Book of Bel and the Dragon, cf. R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913), I, p. 663.

⁵⁵ Paris. gr. 510: Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LVII. For earlier examples, see *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, VI, 2, figs. 5510-15.

⁵⁶ Buberl, *op. cit.*, fig. 47. G. Millet, *op. cit.*, in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 18 (1894), p. 457. A. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, in *Oriens Christianus*, V (1905), p. 308.

⁵⁷ Bonicatti, *op. cit.*, pl. IX 1; the initial is not visible in the reproduction, because the photograph is cut off immediately under the headpiece.

⁵⁸ The Virgin in prayer, either full face or in profile, may be seen in the following manuscripts: British Museum, Add. 11836, fol. 304; Vatopedi, cod. 851 (K. Weitzmann, "Eine Pariser-Psalter-Kopie des 13. Jahrhunderts auf dem Sinai," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, VI [1957], p. 132); Jerusalem, Hagiou Staurou, 88 (A. Baumstark, "Zur byzantinischen Odenillustration," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XXI [1907], p. 163); Mount Athos, Lavra B 26, fol. 268; Paris, suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 334.

image may be discerned in a Leningrad leaf from a thirteenth-century manuscript on Mount Sinai, no. 38, where Mary enthroned, with the Christ Child on her knees, holds an open scroll on which the first words of her Canticle have been inscribed.⁵⁹

In view of the definite intent to combine scene and portrait—an intent to be observed in the last three compositions that we have examined as well as in the headpiece of the Canticle of Jonah—one is surprised to find at the beginning of the Canticle of Hezekiah (fig. 24) only the image of the King praying, whereas in the Paris Psalter Hezekiah has also been represented as ill, and reclining on a bed next to which stands Isaiah.⁶⁰ It is most unfortunate that the corresponding miniature in Paris suppl. gr. 610 is lost, for it might have helped us to understand what appears to be a case of faulty copying in our manuscript, namely, the box-like structure on the left which is barely wide enough to house the King's throne and which differs from all other architectural figurations. Could it be a distortion of the palace façade as it is represented in the Parisinus, with projecting walls at the sides of the steps and the King's bed placed in front of them? If such be the case, we must conclude that the immediate or distant prototype of our miniature also comprised the scene in which Isaiah predicted to Hezekiah that he would be healed.⁶¹

Behind Hezekiah, represented in proskynesis as David was in the miniature of the Penitence Psalm, stands a female personification, bent slightly forward and quite different from the allegorical figure of Prayer in the corresponding miniature of the Parisinus. But the group in the Parisinus formed by Hezekiah and Prayer (προσευχή) has been used for the Prayer of Manasseh in our manuscript (fig. 25) with only a minor change: The full-length allegorical figure, seen en face, points to the arc of heaven. Very few manuscripts have retained an illustration for this prayer; in the Psalters with marginal miniatures Manasseh is represented kneeling, while in the aristocratic Psalter in Athens the King's bust, orans, emerges from a brazen bull.⁶² This composition, which also occurs in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris, gr. 510,⁶³ is based on the apocryphal stories according to which Manasseh, when taken as a prisoner to Babylon, was placed inside a brazen animal under which a fire was kindled; but Manasseh repented and prayed to the Lord, whereupon the animal melted and he was freed.⁶⁴

All of the Canticles (except those of Moses) and Psalms 1, 50, and 77 begin with a figured initial. The Visitation has been represented inside the initial of the Magnificat, as we have just seen; in the other instances the author of the

⁵⁹ K. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 131-32, fig. 6.

⁶⁰ Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV.

⁶¹ In the Bristol Psalter, Brit. Mus., Add. 40731, Hezekiah, praying, stands alone next to a small structure; S. Dufrenne, "Le Psautier de Bristol," *Cahiers archéologiques*, XIV (1964), p. 172, fig. 23.

⁶² Buberl, *op. cit.*, fig. 48.

⁶³ Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LVII.

⁶⁴ Targum of Chronicles and II Baruch 64; cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York, 1957), pp. 126-7; R. H. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 515. See also *ibid.*, I, p. 613, note 1, for references to Byzantine authors who mention this legend.

Canticle forms the first letter or is painted inside it, while the initials of Psalms 1 and 77 are formed by the standing figures of Christ and David (figs. 5–7, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19–25). Similar letters are found in the Vatican Psalter, Barb. gr. 320,⁶⁵ and in the Psalter in the Leningrad Public Library, gr. 214, the illustration of which consists almost exclusively of historiated initials.⁶⁶ But there is a major difference between these examples and our manuscript, for in ours the image of Christ has been painted in the outer margin and the authors of the Canticles, hands stretched out toward Him, address their prayers to Him.⁶⁷

The Christological element thus introduced into the Psalter illustration, an element of which the representations of the Virgin and saints at the beginning of the manuscript are another example, finds its full expression in the figure of Christ Pantokrator in the headpiece of Psalm 77 (fig. 7). This psalm is primarily a summary of the history of Israel; there is no specific mention of the law given to Moses, but because of the opening words (“Give ear, O my people, to my law”) and the reference to the law appointed by the Lord in Israel (v. 5), the scenes selected in the majority of aristocratic Psalters are Moses receiving the stone tablets, showing them to the Israelites,⁶⁸ or teaching the law to the people of Israel.⁶⁹ The substitution of Christ Pantokrator for these images finds its explanation in some of the commentaries to the psalms. Both Eusebius and Hesychius (Pseudo-Athanasius) explain verse 2 (“I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old”) by reference to Matthew 13:34–35, where this verse is quoted: “All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables, and without a parable spake he not unto them: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet saying, I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.” The law to which we must “give ear” is the evangelical law, they state, and it is the Savior Himself who says: “Attend my people to my law.”⁷⁰ It was therefore most appropriate to represent, in the headpiece of this Psalm, Christ, the lawgiver, rather than Moses receiving the law.

This Christological interpretation appears for the first time in the codex of the Pantokrator Monastery, no. 61, which belongs to the old group of Psalters with marginal illustrations. On folio 102, next to the title of the Psalm, stands its author, Asaph, sounding a large horn, but on folio 102^v, next to verses 1 to 4, Christ addresses a group of Israelites, and the accompanying inscription reads: εἶπεν ὁ κ(ύριος) τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. These two miniatures are followed by several others depicting the events referred to in the Psalm. The illustrator

⁶⁵ M. Bonicatti, *op. cit.*, pl. 11.2, vi.2, vii.2. In the Psalter in Paris, gr. 41, anthropomorphic initials are used for many of the Psalms but not for the Canticles.

⁶⁶ V. Lazarev, *Istoriia*, II, pls. 136–7 and *idem*, in *Viz. Vrem.*, III (1950), pp. 211–217, figs. 1–12; the only miniature introduced into the text represents Jonah cast into the sea.

⁶⁷ In the Vatican manuscript just mentioned, as well as in Paris gr. 41, the initial of the first psalm is formed by the figures of Christ and David, as in our manuscript.

⁶⁸ For instance, in the leaf from Vatopedi 761 at the Walters Art Gallery, the Psalter of the Theological Seminary in Berlin (K. Weitzmann, in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* [1947], figs. 1 and 19) and in Sinai MS 38 (*idem*, in *Jahrb. der Österr. byz. Gesellschaft*, VI [1957], fig. 2).

⁶⁹ Lavra B 26 (Millet and Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, pl. xv.1) and Vatopedi, cod. 851, fol. 154^v.

⁷⁰ Migne, PG, XXIII, col. 901 C and XXVII, cols. 349–57.

of the "Bristol" Psalter, Brit. Mus., Add. 40731, has given greater prominence to the Christological interpretation by devoting, exceptionally, a full page to the miniature which forms the frontispiece to Psalm 77 and in which we see Christ, enthroned, teaching the people grouped on either side (fol. 125^v).⁷¹ On the following pages the marginal illustrations again represent scenes from the history of Israel. The image of Christ is not absent from the other manuscripts of this group; in the Barberini Psalter, He appears on the margin of folio 125 speaking to two Israelites, while in the Psalter of the Walters Art Gallery the small figure of Christ enthroned is painted above the title of the Psalm,⁷² just as the bust portrait of the Pantokrator has been represented in the headpiece of our manuscript.

This same Christological interpretation occurs, under different forms, in several aristocratic Psalters. The full-page miniature of Marciana cod. gr. 565 appears to be, at first glance, the traditional scene of Moses Receiving the Law, with the Israelites gazing up toward him (fig. 58); but in the group on the left, unfortunately badly preserved, one can distinguish a nimbed figure with the facial type of Christ. I shall return to this composition and to its meaning after mentioning other examples. In British Museum Add. 11836, the miniature of fol. 267^v, facing Psalm 77, represents a group of five standing Israelites; Christ, identified by the sigla IC XC is in the upper left corner with His right hand extended, and the first words of the Psalm are written in red on a gold ground. In the thirteenth-century Psalter in Paris, suppl. gr. 1335 (fol. 296^v), Christ, addressing the Israelites, stands opposite them; in its formal aspects the composition is identical with the corresponding miniature of the Psalter of Mount Athos, Lavra B 26, where Moses speaks to the Israelites.⁷³ In the Vatican Psalter, Palat. gr. 381, two full-page compositions precede Psalm 77; the first, on folio 169^v, representing Moses Receiving the Law, is identical with the miniature in Sinai codex no. 38, and both are derived from the illustration of the second Canticle of Moses in the Parisinus 139.⁷⁴ In the lower part of the opposite page Moses presents the tablets to the Israelites, while in the upper part he is once again depicted receiving the law, though this time from Christ who stands opposite him.⁷⁵ This last scene is obviously an intrusion into the original scheme⁷⁶ and does not introduce a new idea: it is always Moses who transmits the law which he receives from God; but God is represented once, symbolically, through the Hand emerging from the arc of heaven, and a second time under the aspect of Christ with white

⁷¹ S. Dufrenne, *op. cit.*, in *Cahiers archéologiques*, XIV (1964), p. 165.

⁷² Dorothy E. Miner, "The Monastic Psalter of the Walters Art Gallery," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Matthias Friend Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), p. 246, fig. 11. In the London Psalter, Add. 19352, the enthroned figure who holds an open book with the word νόμος is Asaph, the author of the Psalm, but the medallion portrait of Christ appears higher up, on the side margin (fol. 100).

⁷³ Millet and Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, pl. xv.1.

⁷⁴ K. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, in *Jahrbuch der österr. byz. Gesellschaft*, VI (1957), p. 139, figs. 2, 8. *Miniature della bibbia*, pl. 21.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 22.

⁷⁶ Referring to C. R. Morey's contention that the prototype of the manuscript, namely, the Paris Psalter, must once have had a similar miniature, Weitzmann rightly asserts that the Christological element and other aspects of the composition render this hypothesis untenable (*op. cit.*, p. 139).

hair and beard, that is, as the Ancient of Days. We find a somewhat similar idea in the Psalter of Sinai, gr. 61, of the year 1274; the miniature on folio 121^v, preceding Psalm 77, is divided into two registers: above, Moses receives the law from Christ, in the presence of the Israelites; below, Moses addresses the Israelites.

The composition in the Venice Psalter no. 565 combines two different themes: the law given by God to Moses, and the law taught by Christ. We have here an indirect illustration of the opposition of the old law and the new law expressed in the Gospel of John: "For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ" (1:17). These words are recalled in several representations of Moses Receiving the Law: In a Gospel MS in Berlin, qu. 66, they are written above and below this scene;⁷⁷ in a lectionary in the Vatican Library, cod. gr. 1522, the frontispiece representing Moses Receiving the Law is followed by a long poem developing the opposition between the old and the new law.⁷⁸ Both these miniatures are connected with the Joannine text, since in the Berlin manuscript it serves as a frontispiece to the Gospel of John, and the Vatican codex, like all lectionaries, begins with the first chapter of John. More interesting for our purpose are those examples which have no direct link with the Gospel of John, and are to be found in manuscripts of the Psalter and New Testament combined. Such a manuscript is Paris, suppl. gr. 1335, already mentioned in connection with the illustration of Psalm 77; Moses Receiving the Law is used as a frontispiece to the entire manuscript and, facing it, is another full-page miniature in which the medallion portrait of the youthful Christ is surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists.⁷⁹ The same two compositions probably adorned the stylistically related Rockefeller-McCormick manuscript; the second miniature is lost, but the opposition of the old and new law, pictorially expressed by the paired images, is clearly set forth by John's words, "for the law was given by Moses," written above the image of Moses Receiving the Law, and the sentence must have continued on the opposite page.⁸⁰

The representations of the Virgin and saints at the beginning of our manuscript; the marginal images of Christ to whom the authors of the Canticles address their prayers; finally, the portrait of Christ Pantokrator replacing that of Moses show the gradual modification of the original aristocratic Psalter illustration which, except for the miniatures illustrating the Canticles taken from the Gospels, comprised only Old Testament scenes. The same phenomenon was observed in varying degrees in other aristocratic Psalters of the

⁷⁷ Miniature on folio 264^v, following the portraits of John and Prochoros on folio 263^v; photographs at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris.

⁷⁸ K. Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), figs. 25, 26; *The Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament. III. The Miniatures*, by Harold R. Willoughby (Chicago, 1932), p. 12 and pl. III. The manuscript is dated in the fourteenth century by Devreesse in his catalogue, III, pp. 67-70.

⁷⁹ Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pls. II and xcix.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-12 and I, fol. 6^v. The scene of Moses Receiving the Law is repeated as an illustration of John 1:17 on folio 86. An earlier example of the illustration of this verse is to be seen in the Lectionary in Paris, suppl. gr. 27: Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xcvi, 5.

eleventh and subsequent centuries mentioned above. In none of these was the fundamental scheme altered, since within the Psalter proper only Psalms 50, 77, and 151 were illustrated, but during the same period other Psalters with full-page miniatures showed a more radical transformation: in these, other Psalms, besides the three just mentioned, were also accompanied by miniatures and they sometimes represented Gospel scenes. A leaf in the Princeton Museum, with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, was recognized by K. Weitzmann as belonging to such a Psalter, where it originally faced Psalm 9; in his discussion of these miniatures he also referred to another manuscript of this type, Vatopedi, cod. no. 760 (formerly 608).⁸¹ A study of the illustrations of this Psalter, known to me through the photographs made by G. Millet and a microfilm at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris,⁸² lies outside the scope of this article, and I shall limit myself here to a few remarks which have a bearing on the transformation of the aristocratic Psalter recension. This transformation must have taken place primarily under the influence of the Psalters with marginal illustration: In almost every instance the same scenes have been selected to illustrate the same Psalms, and some of these show the type of literal interpretation characteristic of the marginal Psalters. For instance, on folio 25^v David stands next to a hillock, on which three birds are perched, and looks up to Christ, depicted in the upper right-hand corner; the words that have been illustrated: "In the Lord put I my trust, how say ye to my soul, Flee as a bird to your mountain?" (Ps. 10:1) are written, as is customary in this manuscript, on the open scroll held by David. A bird perched on the mountain may be seen in the Chludov Psalter (fol. 10), the London Psalter (fol. 10^v) and the Barberini Psalter (fol. 15), and in the last two the just man (δικαιος) points to the medallion of Christ. The miniature on folio 245, which refers to Psalm 136:1-2 ("By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down.... We hanged our harps upon the willows") and depicts the scene described in these verses, also corresponds to the illustrations in the same three Psalters (folios 135, 176, and 222 respectively).⁸³

⁸¹ K. Weitzmann, "Aristocratic Psalter and Lectionary," *The Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, XIX (1960), pp. 98-107, fig. 1.

⁸² Reproductions of a few miniatures in K. Weitzmann, *ibid.*, figs. 3-4, and *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, figs. 113-139; Millet and Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, pls. XIII-XIV; H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, figs. 80-81; N. Kondakov, *Pamiatniki Christianskago iskusstva na Afone* (Saint Petersburg, 1902), p. 286. The miniatures which accompany the Psalms are the following: fol. 11^v, Christ Teaching the Israelites (Ps. 2:1); fol. 19^v, Entry into Jerusalem (Ps. 8:2); fol. 25^v, David stands next to a hill on which three ravens are perched (Ps. 10:1); fol. 29, a man, in imperial dress, stands between two groups of men (Ps. 13:1); fol. 59, Paul Baptized by Ananias (Ps. 31:1); fol. 79^v, John the Almoner Distributing Alms to the Poor (Ps. 40:1); fol. 96^v, Repentance of David (Ps. 50); fol. 119^v, Anastasis (Ps. 67:1); fol. 143, Moses Receiving the Law (Ps. 77); fol. 218, David and a group of men stand at the side of a church (Ps. 118: 1); fol. 245, the Israelites are seated next to a river; harps and different instruments hang from the trees (Ps. 136:1-2); folios 263^v-264, The Combat of David and Goliath, and David Presenting the Head of Goliath to Saul (Ps. 151).

⁸³ In discussing the iconography of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis on the Princeton leaf and the compositions of the Entry into Jerusalem and the Anastasis in the Vatopedi Psalter, K. Weitzmann speaks of "the influence of the feast cycle [of lectionaries] upon the aristocratic Psalter" (*op. cit.*, p. 106). This remark naturally applies to the iconography of these subjects and not to the choice of scenes, for of the twelve miniatures of the Vatopedinus, only the two just mentioned are Gospel scenes; a third, Paul Baptized by Ananias (fol. 59), belongs to the Acts of the Apostles, and the remaining nine are directly connected with the text of the psalms, and, ordinarily, with the opening verses.

The influence of the marginal Psalters on the Dumbarton Oaks and related manuscripts is less obvious, but can nevertheless be discerned. It will be recalled that the Christological interpretation of Psalm 77 already occurred in the ninth-century Psalter of the Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61, and in several of the later copies. In the small portraits painted in the initials, showing the authors of the Canticles with their hands stretched out toward Christ, we have perhaps an echo of the numerous marginal miniatures of these Psalters which represent David, a prophet, or a saint praying to Christ. Finally, in considering the portrait of David receiving the scroll from the hand of God, instead of being inspired by Melody, one recalls that the divine inspiration of the Psalmist is suggested in the marginal Psalters also: In the Chludov Psalter the medallion figure of Christ appears above David playing the psalterion (fol. 1^v), and in the elaborate frontispiece on folio 2 of the Barberini Psalter, Christ, enthroned and blessing, is depicted above David and the group of musicians and dancers.

The illustration of the New Testament section of our manuscript consists almost exclusively of portraits. Those of Matthew, Mark, and Luke in the headpieces of their Gospels, and of James and John above their Epistles conform to the iconographic types of writing or meditating authors (figs. 28–30, 33, 38) current in the eleventh century.⁸⁴ For the Gospel of John, the group portrait of John dictating to Prochoros, also common in this period,⁸⁵ was selected, and the entire page given over to it (fig. 31). The folio which once faced this miniature must have had a large, ornate headpiece, since the missing part of the text, that is, John 1:1–26, would have covered only a page and a half. The portraits of Peter and Jude are derived from the iconographic types used for the prophets rather than those of the standing evangelists, for they carry scrolls instead of books.

These seated or standing portraits preceding the different epistles are in keeping with general practice. Occasionally, however, all the authors are grouped on a single page, as in the Psalter and New Testament of Vatopedi, cod. no. 762 (fol. 330), or, together with Luke, they are depicted two by two on three folios before the Acts of the Apostles, as in the Praxapostolos of the Vatican, gr. 1208.⁸⁶ Scenes from their lives, such as fill the lunettes of the beautiful manuscript of the Bodleian, Auct. T infra I. 10, are extremely rare.⁸⁷ Different schemes are used for the frontispiece or the headpiece of Acts, in addition to the single portrait of Luke, who is shown either seated and writing

⁸⁴ A. M. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies*, V (1927), p. 134 ff., pl. xiv.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. xviii.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. VII, figs. 92–94.

⁸⁷ Otto Pächt, *Byzantine Illumination* (Oxford, 1952), fig. 17, lunette of the frontispiece to the Epistles of Paul (fol. 312^v). On folio 287^v James is represented seated and preaching to two groups of men; on fol. 292^v, in the lunette above the portrait of Peter, writing, the angel delivers him from prison; on fol. 302^v, in the lunette above the portrait of John, meditating, the evangelist and a young man are in a boat. In the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament there are no narrative scenes for the Epistles, though the Acts are illustrated.

or standing. At times the composition includes all the apostles. In the New Testament of Dionysiou, cod. 8, dated 1133, the page is divided into twelve rectangular compartments, each one housing the bust portrait of an apostle; this leaf, detached from the manuscript, is now in the Paul Canellopoulos collection in Athens.⁸⁸ In the Praxapostolos of the Walters Art Gallery, cod. 533 (fol. 1), and that of Mount Sinai, gr. 275 (fol. 1), Christ, standing in the midst of the apostles, fills the headpiece of the Acts, while in Paris suppl. gr. 2611, of the year 1101, Christ, enthroned, addresses the apostles (fol. 35). In the New Testament of the Pantokrator Monastery, no. 234, Luke is seated with an open book on his lap and the apostles stand opposite him (fol. 52^v).

The Pauline Epistles are also usually preceded by the portrait of Saint Paul,⁸⁹ sometimes writing,⁹⁰ and occasionally dictating to a disciple.⁹¹ In the Pantokrator codex no. 234 Paul is seated, writing, and a woman looks out of a window opposite him.⁹² The scene is based on an episode in the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thekla, where it is related that when Paul was teaching in Iconium, at the house of Onesiphoros, Thekla, seated at the window of her own house, listened to his words. This composition helps us to understand the representation in our manuscript (fig. 42). The woman who leans over Paul's chair and watches while he writes, should probably, because of her costume, be identified as Thekla, although the scene does not correspond to any specific passage of the apocryphal Acts. The compositional scheme is that of an author inspired by an allegorical figure standing behind him, a scheme occasionally used for the portraits of David and, in later periods, for the Church Fathers;⁹³ but here the addition of the young man behind the desk suggests the use and transposition of the iconographic type of John Chrysostom inspired by St. Paul. According to a passage in the *Vita* by George of Alexandria, repeated by Leo the Wise and Symeon Metaphrastes,⁹⁴ John Chrysostom was composing his Commentary on the Pauline Epistles, when Proclos, his secretary, watching from behind the door, saw a man whispering in John's ear. Proclos revealed to John what he had witnessed, and pointing to the image of St. Paul which hung on the wall, stated that he was the man who had visited John every night. This scene is represented in the frontispiece of the Epistles of St. Paul with the commentary of John Chrysostom in the Vatican, cod. gr. 766: Paul stands behind John's chair, a man watches from the doorway, and

⁸⁸ K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, III, pl. 197, fol. 134^v-135. Catalogue: *L'art byzantin art européen. Neuvième exposition sous l'égide du Conseil de l'Europe* (Athens, 1964), no. 313.

⁸⁹ H. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament*, III, p. 330, pl. cxxv.

⁹⁰ Paris, gr. 224: Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. ci; Moscow, University Library, no. 2280, A.D. 1072: M. Alpatov, "Un nuovo monumento di miniatura della scuola constantinopolitana," *Studi bizantini*, II, (1927), pp. 103-108, fig. 1; Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. T. infra, 1, 10, fol. 312^v; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin 30: K. Weitzmann, "An Early Copto-Arabic Miniature in Leningrad," *Ars Islamica*, X (1943), p. 123, note 15a.

⁹¹ Mount Athos, Lavra, cod. B 26 (K. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 6).

⁹² Photograph kindly communicated by Prof. Weitzmann.

⁹³ Milan, Ambros., cod. 54: H. Buchthal, *The Paris Psalter*, fig. 23. J. Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des Serbischen Psalters der Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* (Vienna, 1906), pl. v, fig. 8, p. 19, fig. 12 and discussion pp. 94-5.

⁹⁴ Leo the Wise, "Laudatio" (PG, 107, cols. 256 D-257 C); Symeon Metaphrastes (PG, 114, cols. 1104 B-1108 B).

the icon of St. Paul hangs on the wall.⁹⁵ It is repeated in the Psalter in Athens, no. 7, although the accompanying text is Chrysostom's Commentary on the Psalms rather than his Commentary on the Epistles.⁹⁶ This theme enjoyed great popularity; we find it, with some variations, in the Menologium of Mount Sinai, no. 500, where it is placed before the Life of John Chrysostom, the entry for November 13 (fol. 175); in a copy of John Chrysostom's Commentaries in Milan, cod. A. 172,⁹⁷ and, adapted to the initial K, in the liturgical scroll of Jerusalem, Σταύρου 109.⁹⁸ The fact that this composition occurs in one of the aristocratic Psalters is of particular interest, for it suggests the possible source of the iconographic scheme used for the headpiece of the Pauline Epistles. In this re-adaptation the inspiring figure of Paul has been transformed into that of Thekla, thus introducing an element derived from the apocryphal Acts; as for the young man who has taken the place of Proclus, John's secretary, he may be Paul's companion, Timothy. For, as we shall see, the two are sometimes represented together, and in the Praxapostolos of the Esphigmenou Monastery, cod. 63, mentioned by K. Weitzmann, "Timothy stands in front of Paul, who is seated and writing in a codex."⁹⁹

The portraits of the authors of the books of the New Testament are repeated in the initials, as they had been in the Psalter, and they are occasionally accompanied by marginal miniatures. The most interesting among the latter are those which were painted on the incipit pages of the Gospels; though effaced, they can be identified thanks to their inscriptions. These figures are the following: for Matthew, Christ, David, and Solomon (fig. 28); for Mark, John the Baptist (fig. 29); for Luke, Theophilus, Zacharias, and Elizabeth (fig. 30). The incipit page of John is lost and there is no photographic record of it.

Marginal miniatures are more common in lectionaries of this period than in manuscripts of the Four Gospels, and it is most unusual to restrict them to the incipit pages. There is, however, one other example very similar to ours, in codex no. 522 of the Walters Art Gallery which can be assigned to the early twelfth century. Here the figures, also almost obliterated, represent Abraham, David, and Christ on the first page of Matthew (fol. 12); John the Baptist, on the first page of Mark (fol. 89); and Zacharias and the angel on the first page of Luke (fol. 141). There is no marginal figure on the incipit page of John.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder by John Climacus* (Princeton, 1954), p. 23 and fig. 299. It also occurs in Vatican, gr. 1640: Cyrus Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani graeci: Codices 1485-1683* (Vatican City, 1950), p. 349.

⁹⁶ P. Buberl, *op. cit.*, fig. 40; cf. A. Xyngopoulos in *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1942-44), p. 17, note 2.

⁹⁷ M. L. Gengaro, F. Leoni, G. Villa, *Codici decorati e miniati dell'Ambrosiana: Ebraici e greci* (Milan, 1960), pl. LIII.

⁹⁸ A. Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 8 (1954), p. 173, fig. 5.

⁹⁹ K. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 123. In the Psalter and New Testament of Lavra, cod. B 26, the youthful scribe to whom Paul is dictating is identified as Timothy by the inscription (*ibid.*, p. 123-4, fig. 6). In the Praxapostolos in Moscow, no. 2280, though he is not identified, the young apostle who writes under Paul's dictation in the headpiece of the Epistle to the Philippians must again be Timothy, since he is associated with Paul in the opening words: "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ" (Alpatov, *op. cit.*, fig. 4; V. Lazarev, *Istoriia*, II, pl. 135 a).

¹⁰⁰ H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1957), pl. 141 e.

As can be seen, both manuscripts represent an abbreviated genealogy of Christ to illustrate the first chapter of Matthew. The illustrator of the Walters codex has followed the wording of the first verse: "Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham," placing the figures in descending order, with Abraham at the top. In our manuscript we have a selected genealogy, which comprises only David and Solomon, the two Kings represented in Western Europe in the compositions of the Tree of Jesse, and, as in these examples, Christ is placed above them. For the Gospel of Mark the choice is the same in both manuscripts, since only John the Baptist is mentioned in the first verses; but there is once more a slight divergence in the illustration of the incipit page of Luke. In addition to depicting Theophilus, who is addressed by Luke in verse 3, the illustrator of our manuscript has again given a genealogical image by representing the parents of John the Baptist, Zacharias, and Elizabeth, mentioned in verse 5, while in the Walters Gospels the scene is that of the angel appearing to Zacharias.

These marginal miniatures are to be connected with the illustrations of an older manuscript in Paris, gr. 64. Here two ornate folios precede each Gospel; on the verso of the first leaf and the recto of the second the text is written in the shape of a cross, and the miniatures, consisting for the most part of single figures, are painted in the free spaces at the sides of the cross. The choice of figures and scenes is more detailed than in the Dumbarton Oaks and Walters manuscripts, but, with the exception of Christ, all those that occur in the latter are also found in the Parisinus. For Matthew we have again a selected genealogy, beginning with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Jude on folio 10^v, and continuing with David, Solomon, Mary, and Joseph on folio 11,¹⁰¹ though these four are not mentioned in the accompanying text which goes from Phares (v. 3) to Manasses (v. 10). Among the miniatures that illustrate the Gospel of Mark, John the Baptist is represented twice, wearing a short pallium and holding the cross staff, as in our manuscript.¹⁰² Those that illustrate the Gospel of Luke also correspond to ours: On folio 102^v we see Luke addressing Theophilus (in our Gospel Luke was painted in the initial) and, below, Zacharias and Elizabeth; while on folio 113 we find the angel and Zacharias, as in the Walters Gospel.¹⁰³ There is thus a very close relationship between these three manuscripts as regards both the method of illustration and the choice of individual figures, and the marginal miniatures of the Dumbarton Oaks and Walters manuscripts are important witnesses of a type of Gospel illustration known hitherto only through the Parisinus, gr. 64.

In the outer margin of the Acts of the Apostles the illustrator of our manuscript has repeated the figure of Theophilus (fig. 32), addressed again by Luke (1:1). Only the outlines of the figure remain, and we cannot tell whether or not he was clad in imperial garb, as he is in the two Oxford manuscripts: Bodleian, Auct T. infra 1. 10, where he is represented in the frontispiece of

¹⁰¹ H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXV, 1-2.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXV, 4.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXVI, 1-2.

Acts, opposite Luke, who is seated and writing,¹⁰⁴ and Christ Church gr. 12, where both he and Luke are represented standing, at the beginning of the Gospel of Luke (fol. 82^v).¹⁰⁵ Theophilus also wears the imperial costume in Paris, gr. 64.

The other marginal miniatures of our manuscript are portraits relating to the authors of the Epistles. These anthropomorphic initials, elegant as they are, do not display the inventiveness which can be observed in other contemporary manuscripts where entire scenes have been adapted to the shapes of the letters. The initial Π, which occurs most frequently, is usually formed by Christ and the author of the epistle—Peter or Paul (figs. 35, 42–46, 51, 55, 61)—just as in the Psalter Christ and David formed the hastae of the same letter (figs. 5–7). When in the first verse of one of his Epistles Paul mentions his companion Timothy, or Silvanus, or both together, different combinations are used: The initial is formed by Christ and Paul, with Timothy represented in the margin (fig. 54, and frontispiece); or by Paul and Silvanus, with Timothy again depicted in the margin (figs. 49, 50); or Paul and Timothy form the two hastae and are blessed by the bust figure of Christ (figs. 47, 48, 62). The initial Ι could be represented only by a single figure, which is that of the author. Consequently, the others are placed in the margin; Christ appears there alone beside the Epistle of James (fig. 33); Christ is in one margin and James in the other beside the Epistle of Jude (fig. 41), which begins with the words: “Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James.” The initial Ο of the Epistles of John frames his bust figure (figs. 38–39), but his portrait is also painted in the margin of the preface to his Epistles (figs. 37, 60). It is interesting to observe that the miniaturist has used three different portrait types for John: dictating to Prochoros (fig. 31), seated and writing (fig. 38), and standing in profile, with a half open book in his hands (figs. 37, 60), a type used in tenth-century manuscripts such as Paris, gr. 70 and Vienna, Theol. gr. 240.¹⁰⁶

The initial Α of the Gospel of Mark is a variant of the type used for the letter Π, for it also consists of two figures: Mark and Jesus (fig. 29). The only suggestion of a scene occurs on folio 331 (fig. 55), where the Hebrews to whom the Epistle was addressed are depicted in the margin, but in the initial Paul stands turned toward Christ, and does not look in their direction.

This absence of any reference to Paul’s predication constitutes one of the essential differences between the initials of our manuscript and those of the Praxapostolos of the University Library in Moscow, no. 2280, dated 1072, with which they are stylistically related, and which are often formed by the figures of Peter or Paul addressing a small group of men.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Christ, almost invariably included in the initials of our manuscript, is absent from those of the Moscow codex, and only occasionally has the painter represented

¹⁰⁴ O. Pächt, *op. cit.*, fig. 8.

¹⁰⁵ The paint has flaked, but one can still see that Theophilus was crowned and wore a loros over his tunic instead of a chlamys as in the preceding example: the inscription reads ὁ κράτιστος Θεόφιλος.

¹⁰⁶ A. M. Friend, Jr., *op. cit.*, pl. 1, figs. 4, 16.

¹⁰⁷ Alpatov, *op. cit.*, in *Studi biz.*, II (1927), figs. 1, 3–5.

the Hand of God blessing. Finally, another iconographic difference should be noted: James is represented as an apostle in our manuscript and as a bishop in the Moscow codex.¹⁰⁸

In conception, though not in form, the initials of our manuscript that consist of the portraits of the authors of the Epistles and of the companions of Paul are comparable to the miniatures introduced into the text, at the beginning of the Epistles, in two Praxapostolos manuscripts: Walters Art Gallery, no. 533 and Mount Sinai, gr. 275. Thus, in both codices Paul and Timothy stand facing one another at the beginnings of the Epistles to the Philippians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon.¹⁰⁹ Silvanus is added in the two Epistles to the Thessalonians. In the Walters manuscript three bust figures are enclosed in medallions in the headpiece of the first of the two Epistles, and the three men stand side by side next to the second Epistle.¹¹⁰ In the Sinai manuscript we have each time a headpiece with the full figure of Paul in a medallion at the center, and Timothy and Silvanus at the sides. The compositions, which consist of two figures turned slightly toward one another, could easily have been used to form the initial Π, and, conversely, the figures could have been detached from the hastae of the letter to stand, freely, opposite one another.

Folios 86 and 87, which have been added by a later owner of the manuscript, show the monk John being introduced to the Virgin by the protomartyr Stephen; behind him stands the "hieromonachos" Gregory, who, as the spiritual father of John, holds the book, while John himself raises both hands in the attitude of prayer or supplication (figs. 26, 27). There is not sufficient information to allow identification of either one of these clerics, but the epithet of the Virgin, the "Spelaiotissa," connects her image with an icon of the famous Peloponnesan monastery of Megaspelaion, depicting the young prince John Dukas Angelos Palaeologos Tornitses before the Virgin, designated as the Spelaiotissa.¹¹¹ In the latter example the young prince stands frontally, while our composition follows the more usual iconographic scheme of the donor, in three-quarter view, being presented to Christ by the Virgin, or to the Virgin and Child by a patron saint. The type of the Virgin and Child is, however, virtually the same in both paintings: Christ, blessing, wears an ornate tunic, but in the miniature He is seated on His mother's knees instead of being held in her left arm.¹¹² The differences are rather of a stylistic order, and suggest

¹⁰⁸ Lazarev, *Istoriia*, II, pl. 132 a.

¹⁰⁹ For the Walters manuscript, cf. K. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, in *Ars Islamica*, x (1943), p. 122 and figs. 2, 4. In the Sinai codex these scenes occur on folios 245, 261^v and 309 (photos: The Library of Congress).

¹¹⁰ Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 122 and fig. 3. Sinai codex, fols. 270^v and 279^v (photos: The Library of Congress).

¹¹¹ G. Soteriou, 'Η εἰκὼν τοῦ Παλαιολόγου τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου, *Archaiologikon Deltion* (1918), pp. 30-44, pl. 2.

¹¹² On an older icon of the Megaspelaion, the so-called Virgin of the Evangelist Luke, the Child is on the right arm of the Virgin: G. Soteriou, Περὶ τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κειμηλίων, *ibid.* (1918), Parartema, pp. 46-80, fig. 11; A. Χυγοπούλος, 'Η εἰκὼν τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν τῇ Μονῇ τοῦ Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου, *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1933), p. 101 ff.

that the miniature was executed after the middle of the fifteenth century, the date assigned by Soteriou to the icon on the strength of his identification of the donor.¹¹³ The proportions of both the Virgin and Child are more elongated in the miniature, the heads being abnormally small; the attitudes are more rigid even though the folds of the voluminous mantle of the Virgin are less tightly drawn and fall in sinuous curves from her right arm. The large semi-circular throne is frequently used for the Virgin and other persons from the fourteenth century on; in the earlier examples it has a simple form, with a solid back; this is true, for instance, of the throne in the representation of Hippocrates in a manuscript copied for Alexis Apokaukos († 1345).¹¹⁴ The openwork design of small columns at the back is to be seen on semicircular or rectangular thrones in later works, such as a painting in the Church of Saint Nicholas at Kastoria, executed in 1485.¹¹⁵

The costumes of Saint Stephen, who is represented as a deacon as is often the case, and of the monk John do not have any distinctive features. The priest-monk Gregory wears the phelonion and an ornate epitrachilion; his hood has two flat bands which fall in front of his shoulders. This particular shape of headdress seems to be characteristic of the post-Byzantine period; two examples are to be seen among the paintings of Mount Athos: the portrait of Neophitos, Metropolitan of Berrhea,¹¹⁶ at the Katholikon of Lavra, and that of the Patriarch Jeremiah at Stavronikita.¹¹⁷ In conclusion, the two leaves inserted in our manuscript were probably painted in the first half of the sixteenth century or, at the earliest, in the last years of the fifteenth.

We cannot know whether or not either the donor or his spiritual father was connected with the Megaspelaion; the epithet of the Virgin may simply indicate a veneration for this type. Nor can we be sure that the donor presented the manuscript to the Pantokrator Monastery, although this seems probable, for the notice added on folio 87^v, like the one written under the cross on folio 4, is a library entry and does not bear a donor's name.

¹¹³ *Archaiologikon Deltion* (1918), p. 43.

¹¹⁴ Paris, gr. 2144 (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. cxxviii).

¹¹⁵ S. Pelekanides, *Kastoria* (Thessalonica, 1953), pl. 186, 1.

¹¹⁶ G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos. Les peintures* (Paris, 1927), pl. 138, 4. An inscription dates the paintings of the Katholikon in 1535 (*ibid.*, p. 61).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 167, 3. An inscription dates the paintings of the naos in 1546 (*ibid.*, p. 62).



3. Fol. 5r. Birth and Anointing of David



4. Fol. 5v. Portrait of David

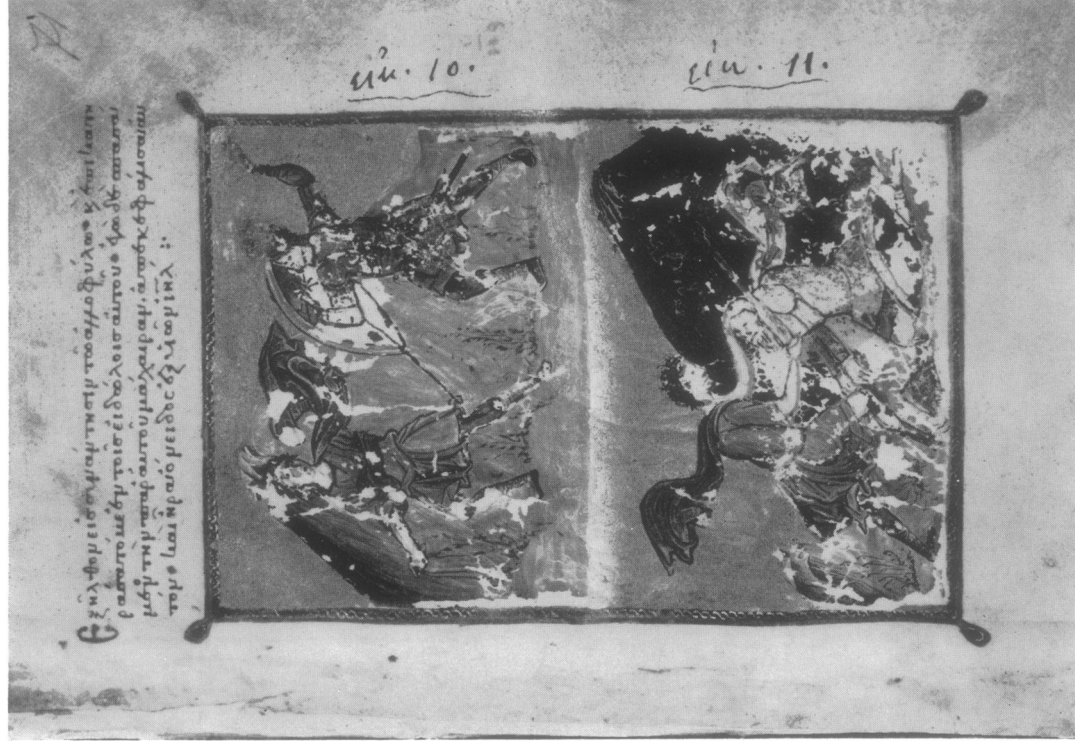
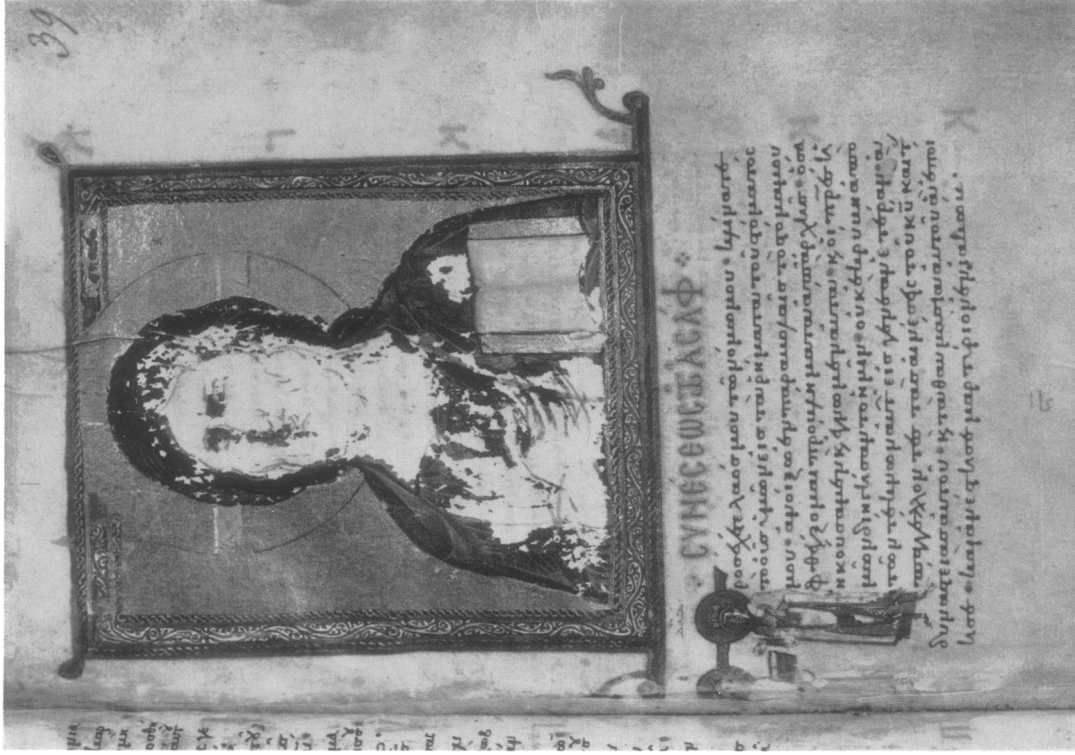
Dumbarton Oaks MS 3



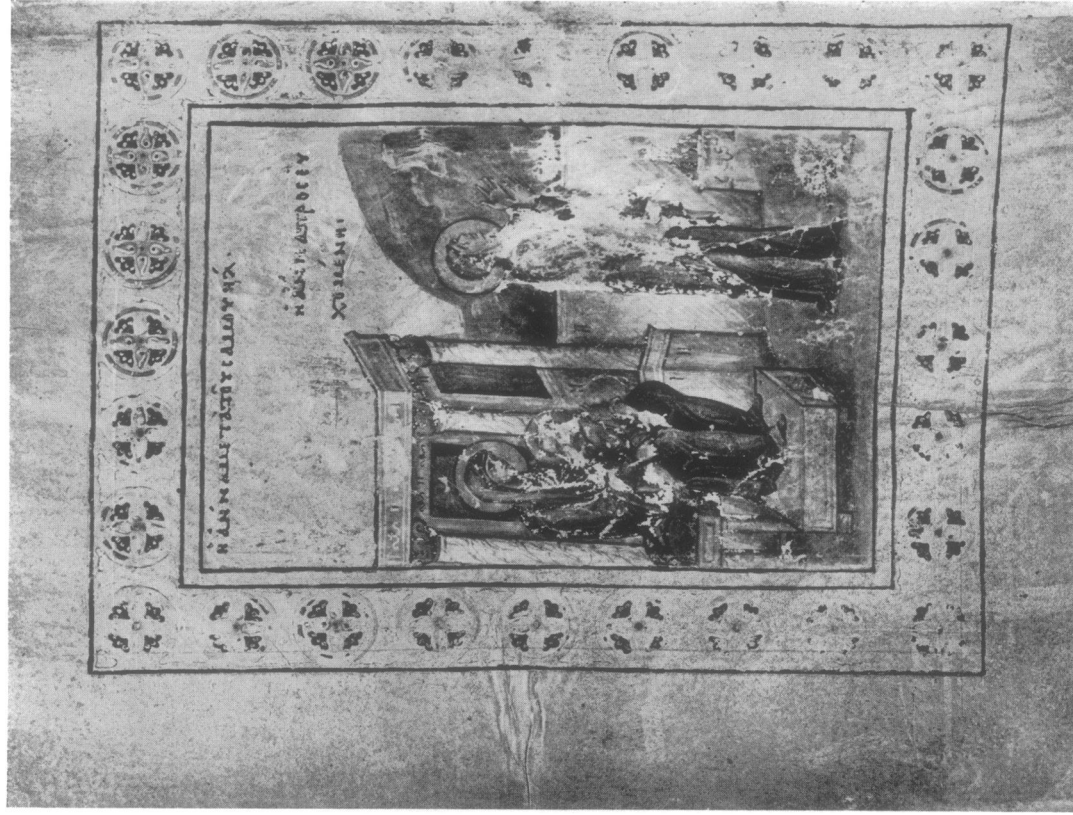
5. Fol. 6. Portrait of David



6. Fol. 27. Repentance of David

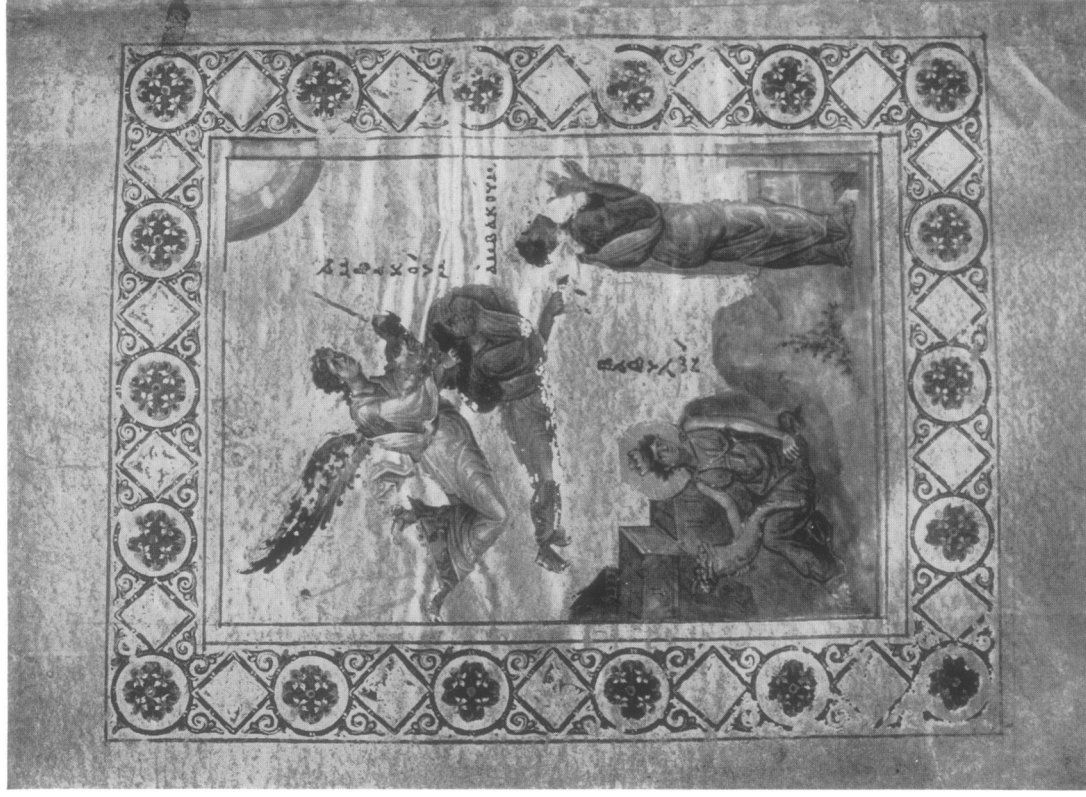




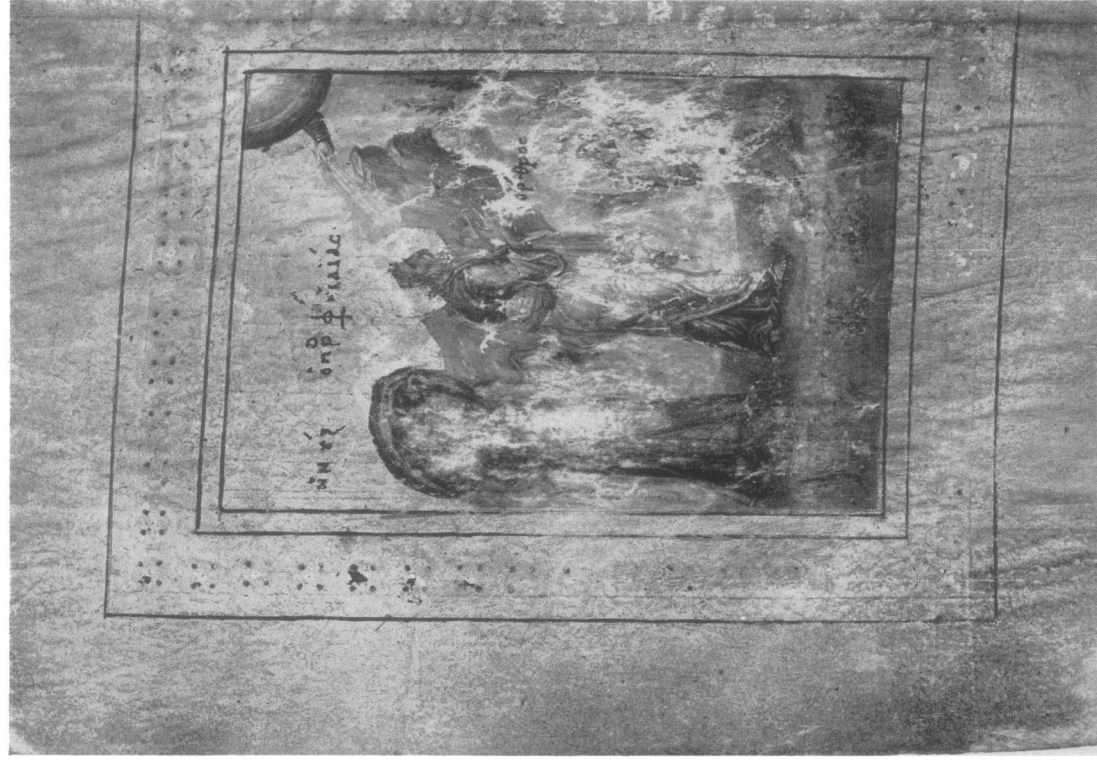


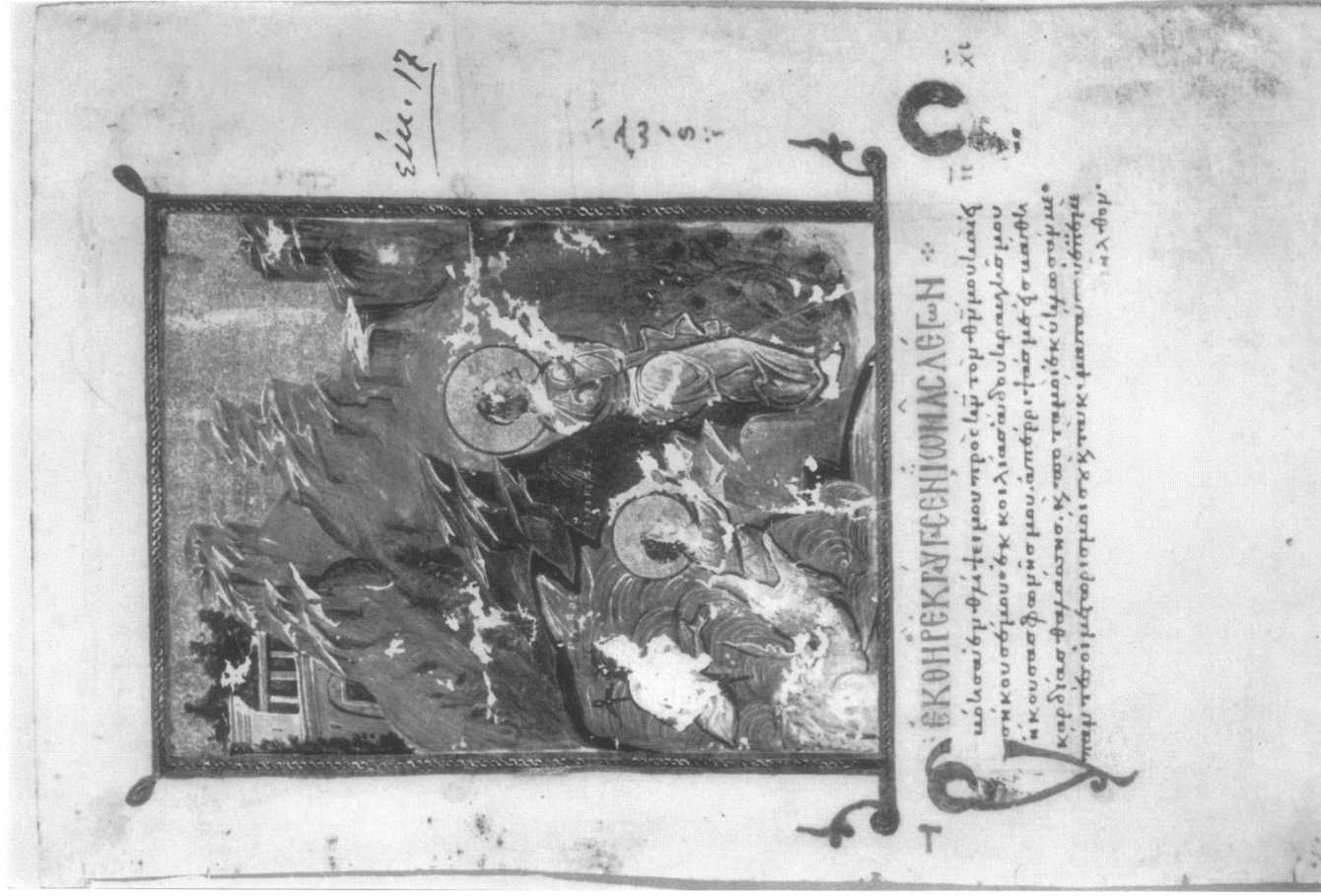


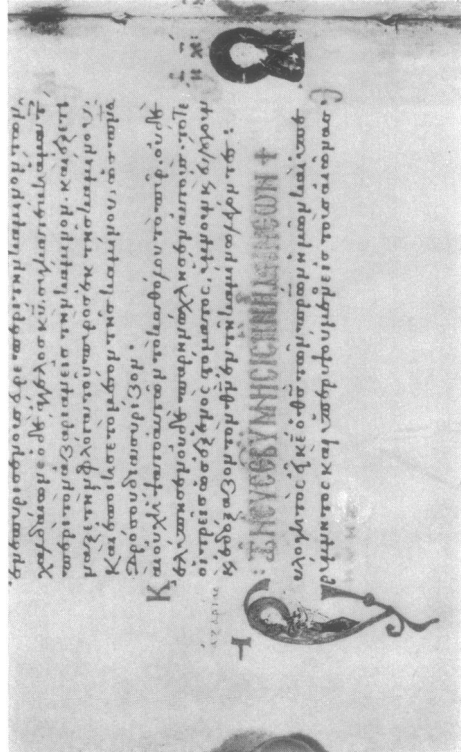
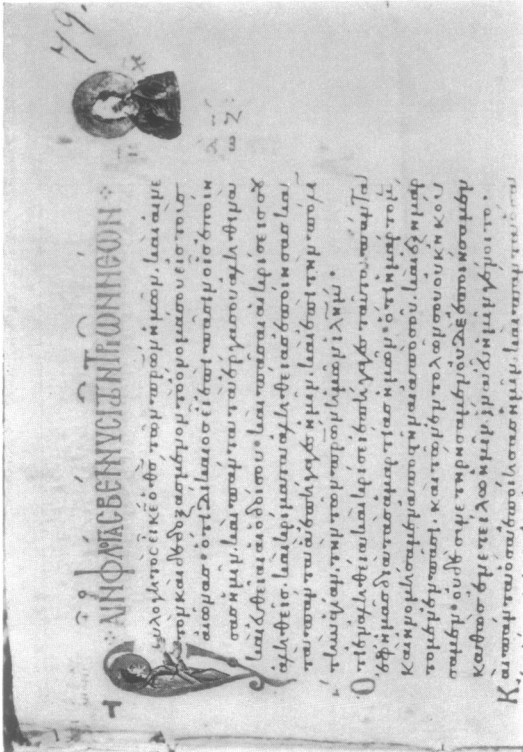
13. Dumbarton Oaks MS 3, fol. 76. Canticle of Habakkuk

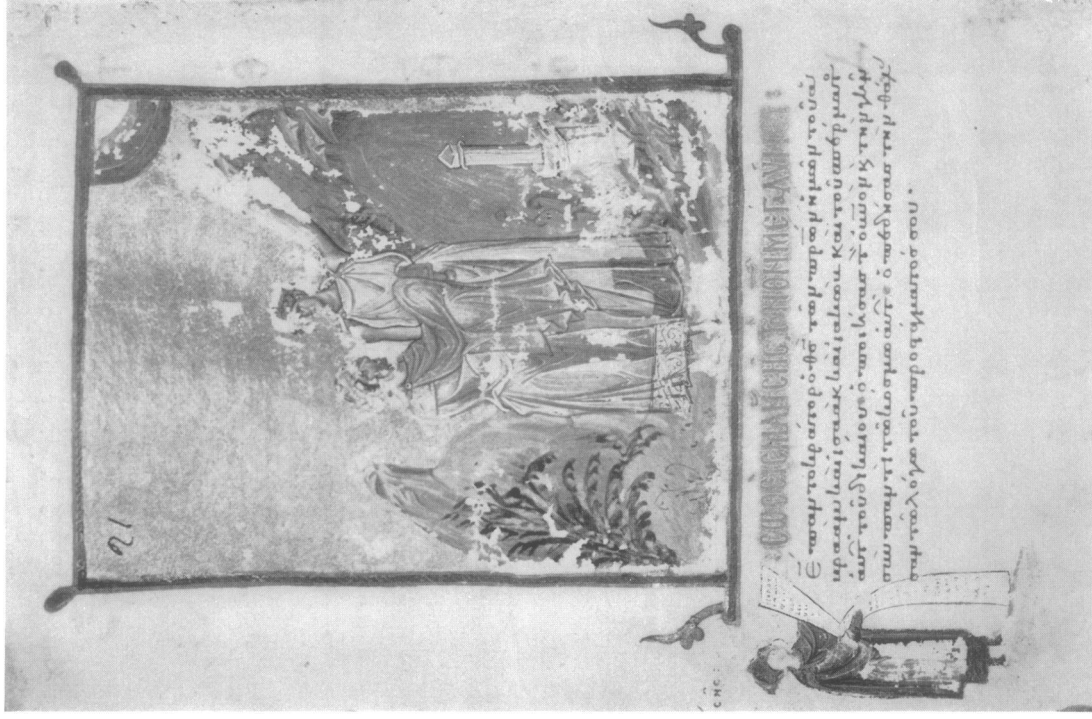


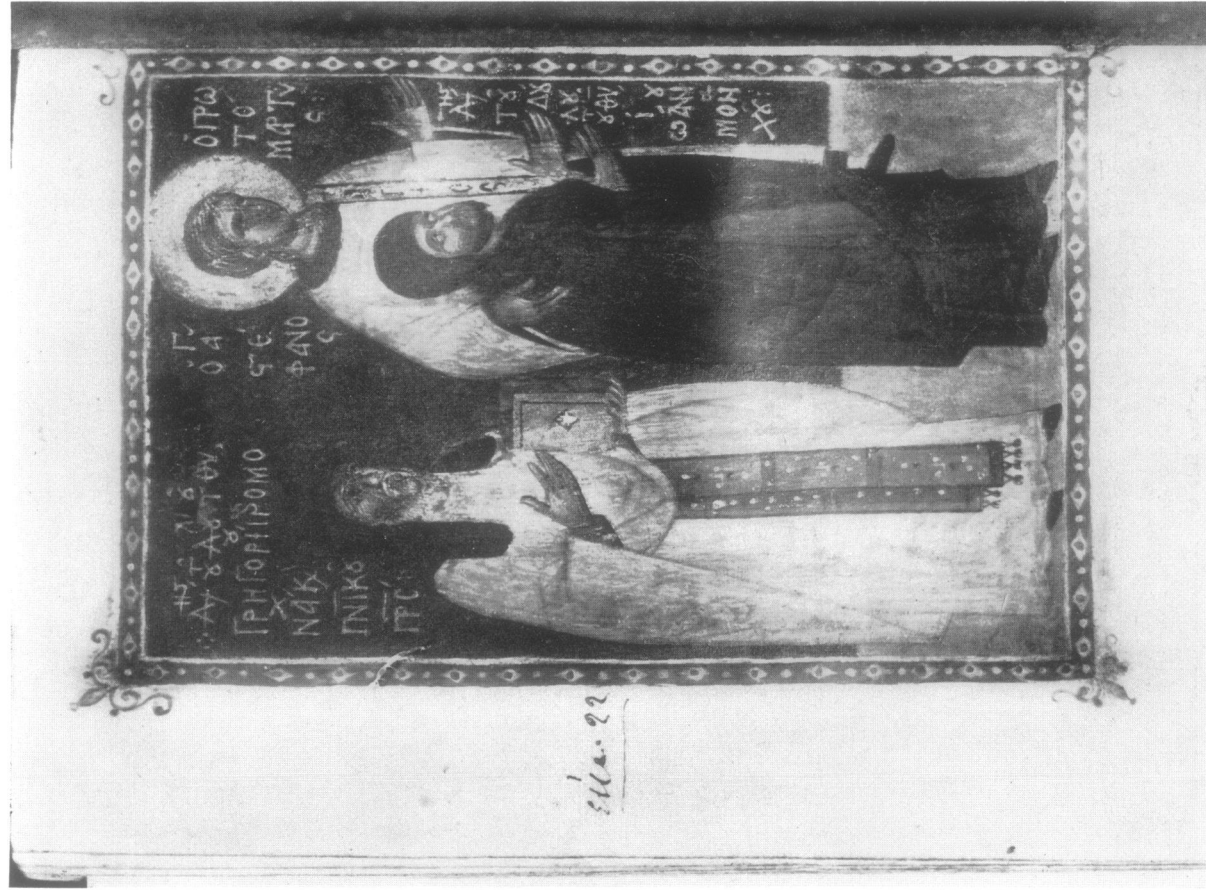
14. Paris, Bibl. Nat., suppl. gr. 610, fol. 252v. Canticle of Habakkuk



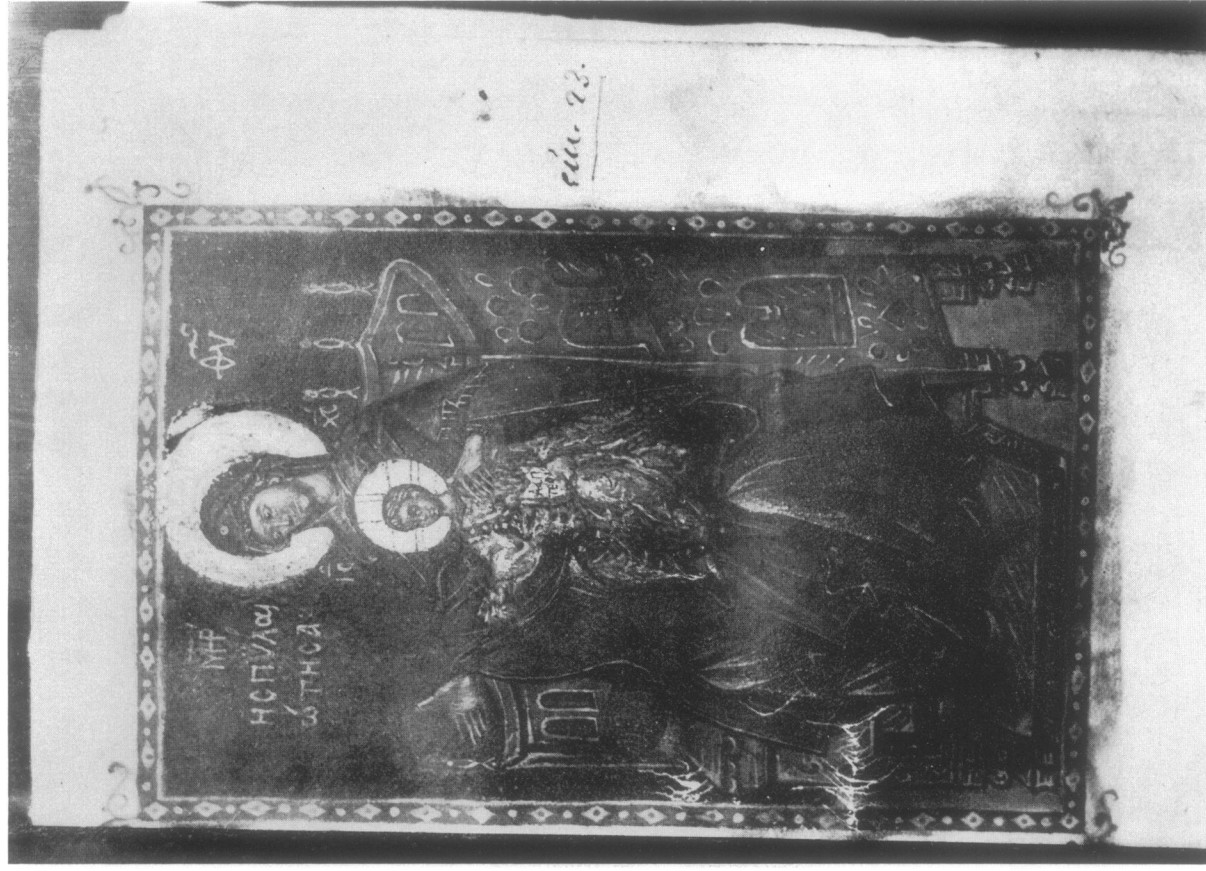








26. Fol. 86v. Portraits of Donors (missing)



27. Fol. 87. Virgin and Child (missing)





30. Fol. 151. Portrait of Luke



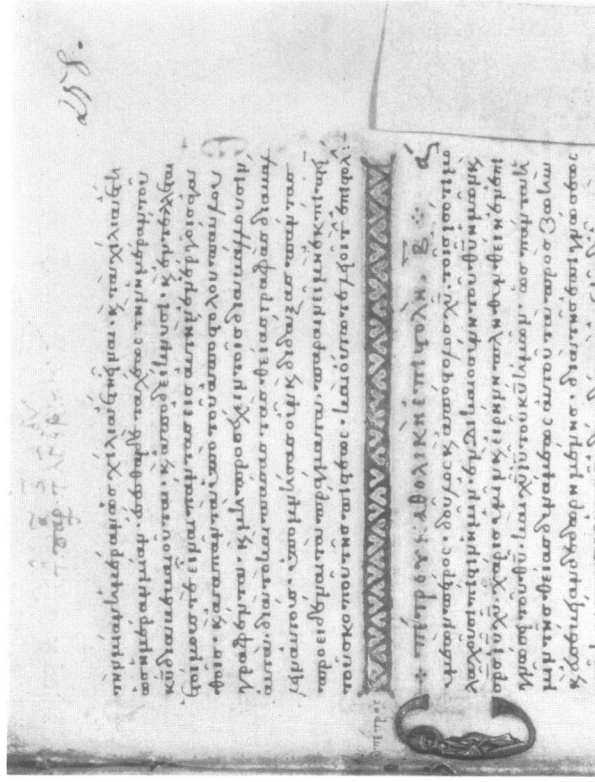
31. Fol. 187. Portrait of John and Prochoros (missing)



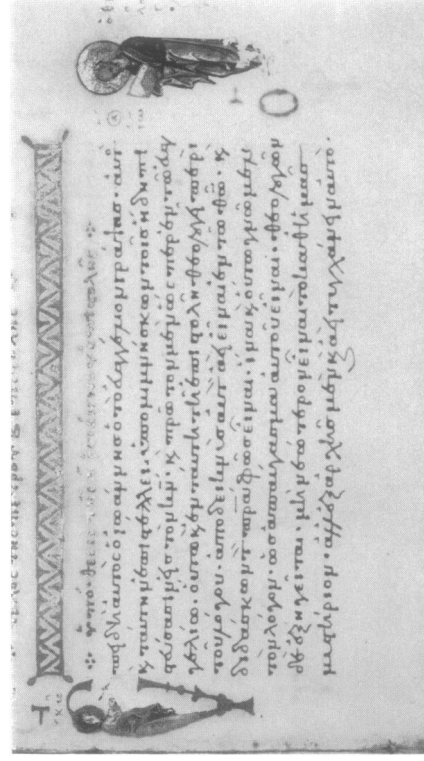
32. Fol. 215. Portrait of Luke and the Eleven Apostles



33. Fol. 250. Epistle of James: Portrait of James



36. Fol. 258. Second Epistle of Peter: Peter (see also Fig. 59)



37. Fol. 260. Preface to the First Epistle of John:
Luke and John (see also Fig. 60)

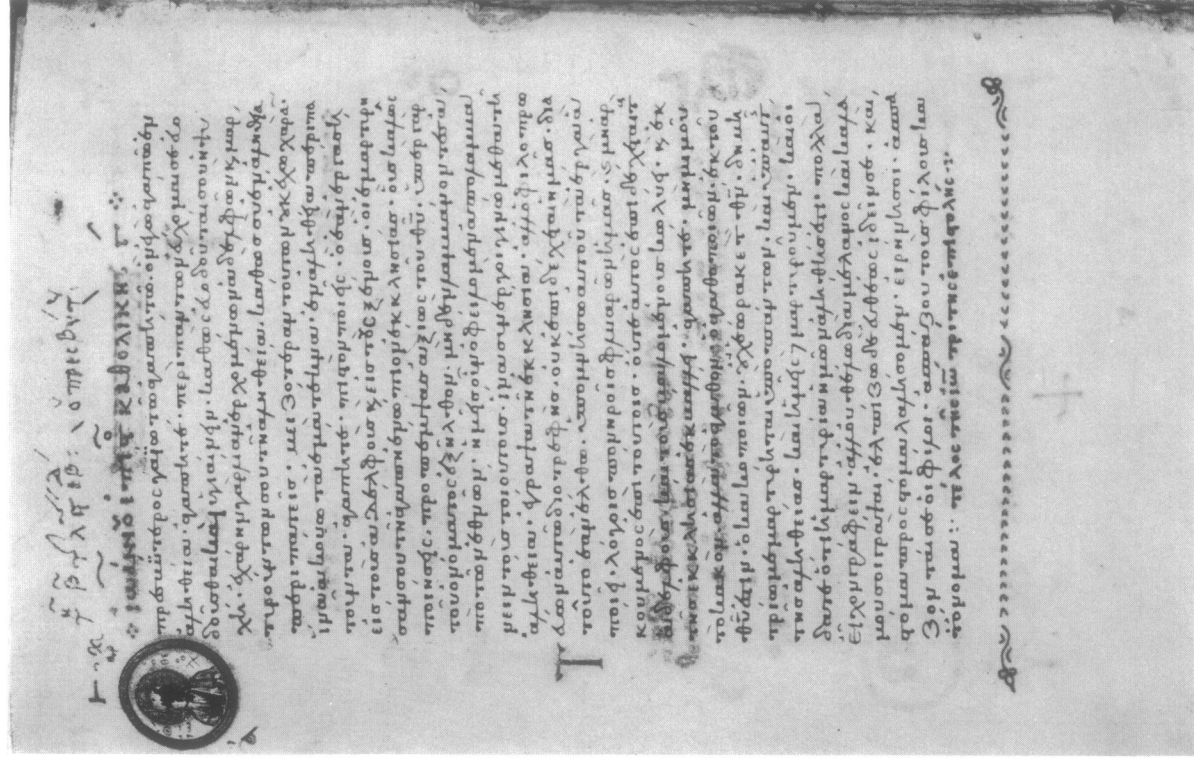


38. Fol. 261. First Epistle of John: Portrait of John

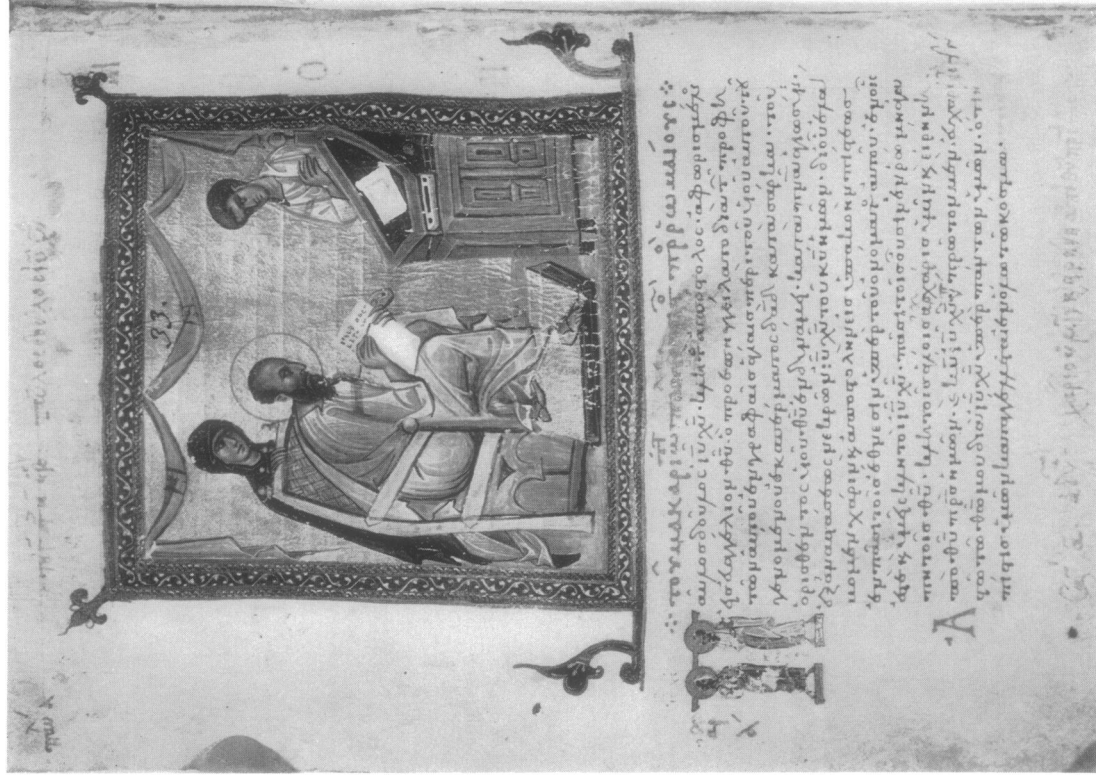


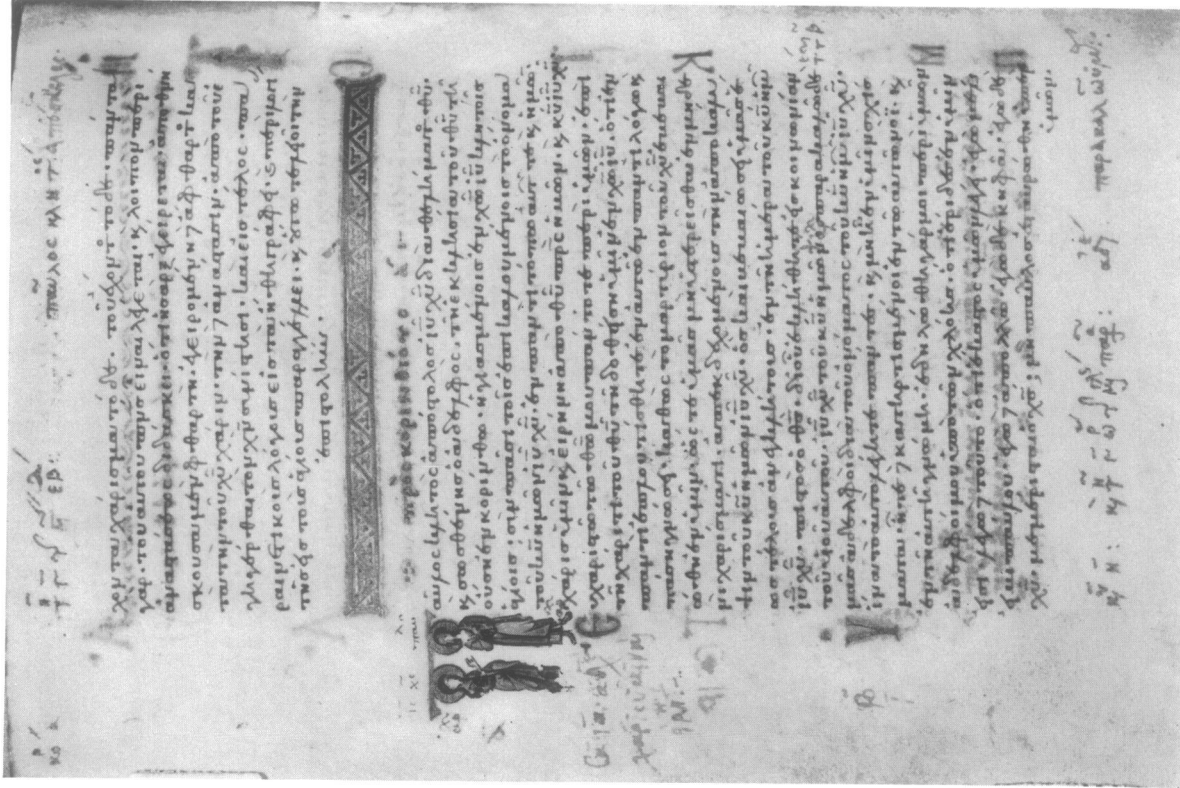
39. Fol. 264v. Second Epistle of John

Dumbarton Oaks MS 3

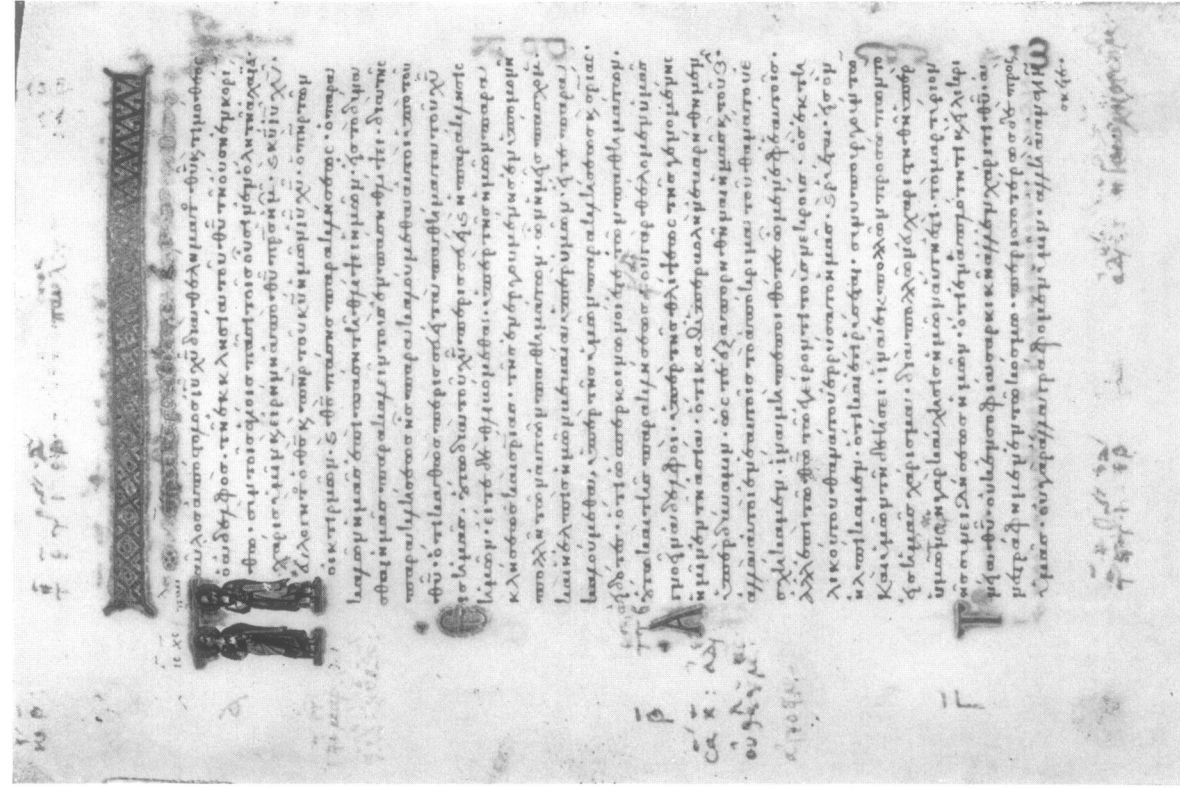


40. Fol. 265v. Third Epistle of John

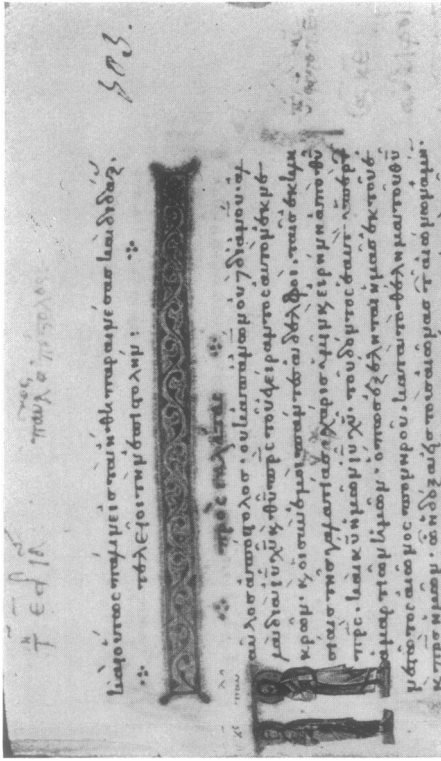




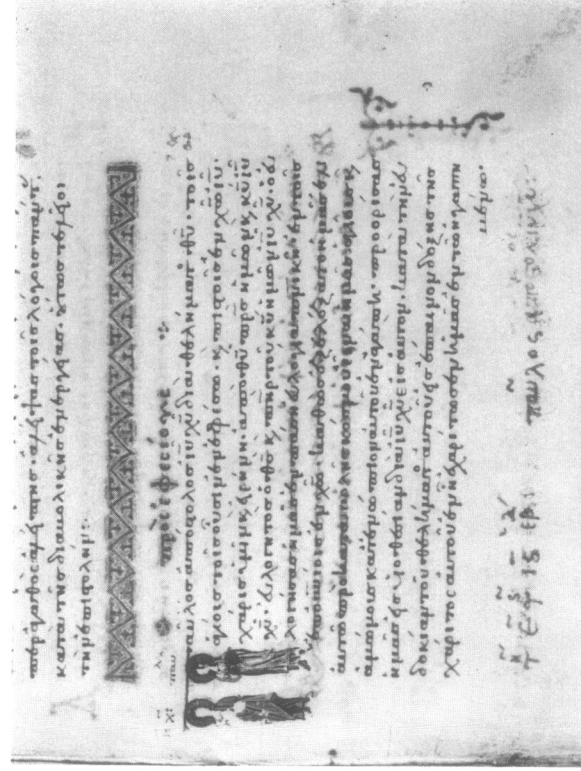
43. Fol. 282v. First Epistle to the Corinthians



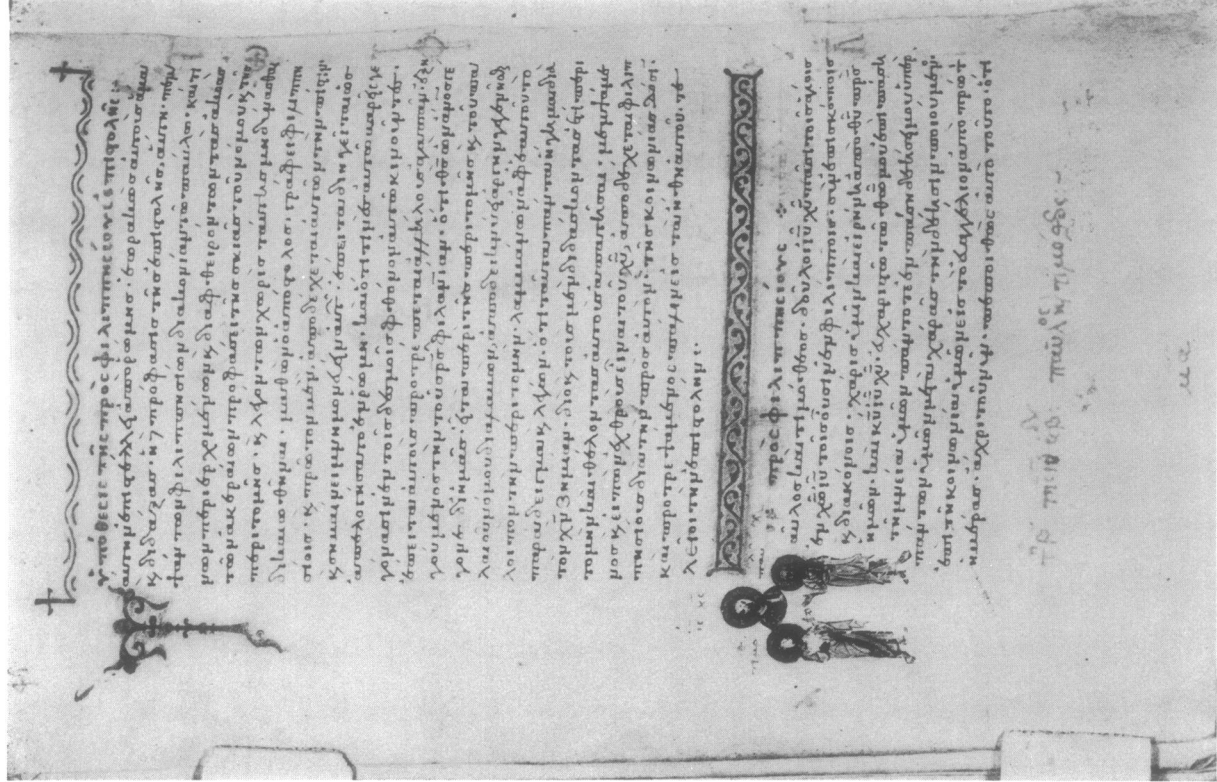
44. Fol. 294v. Second Epistle to the Corinthians (see also Fig. 61)



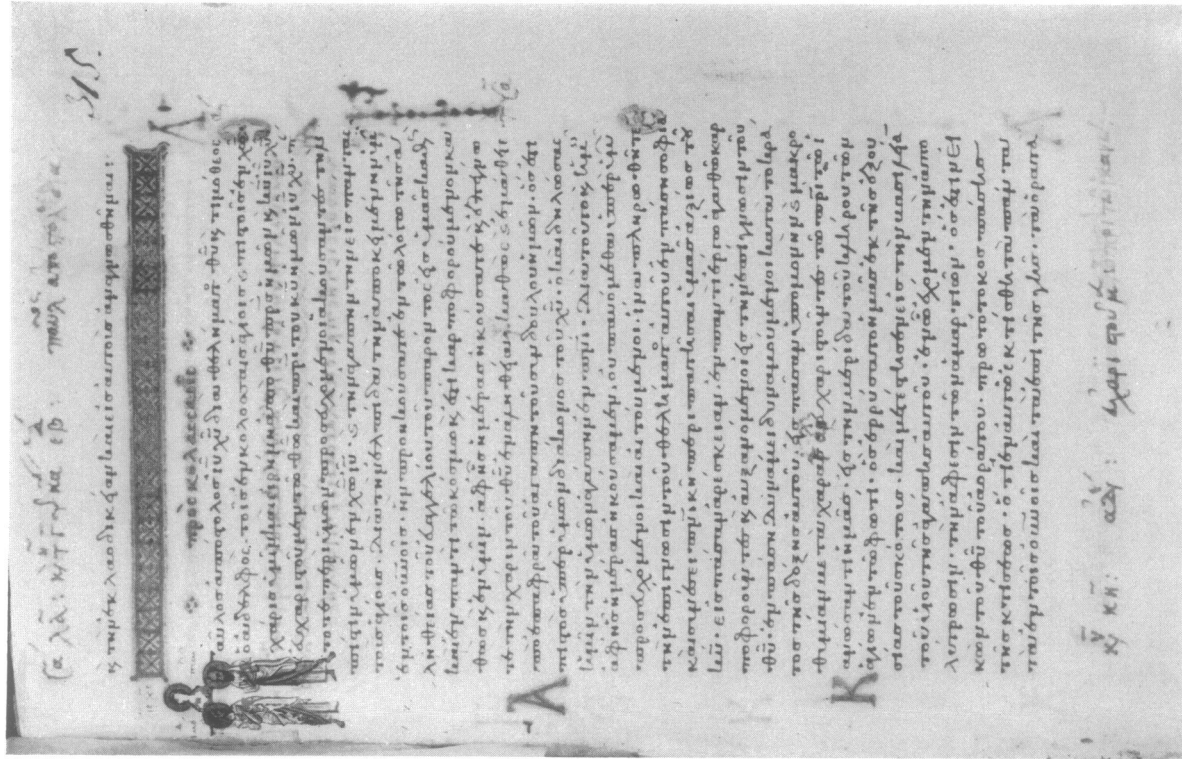
45. Fol. 303. Epistle to the Galatians



46. Fol. 307. Epistle to the Ephesians



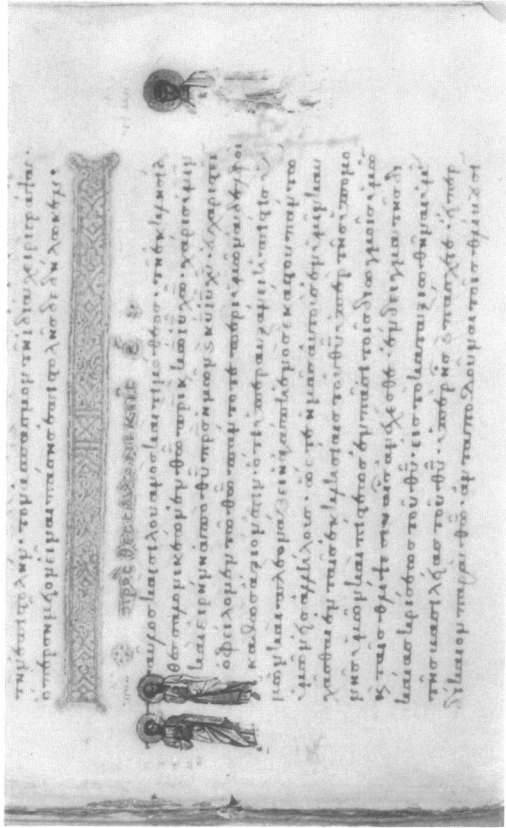
47. Fol. 311v. Epistle to the Philipians (see also Fig. 62)



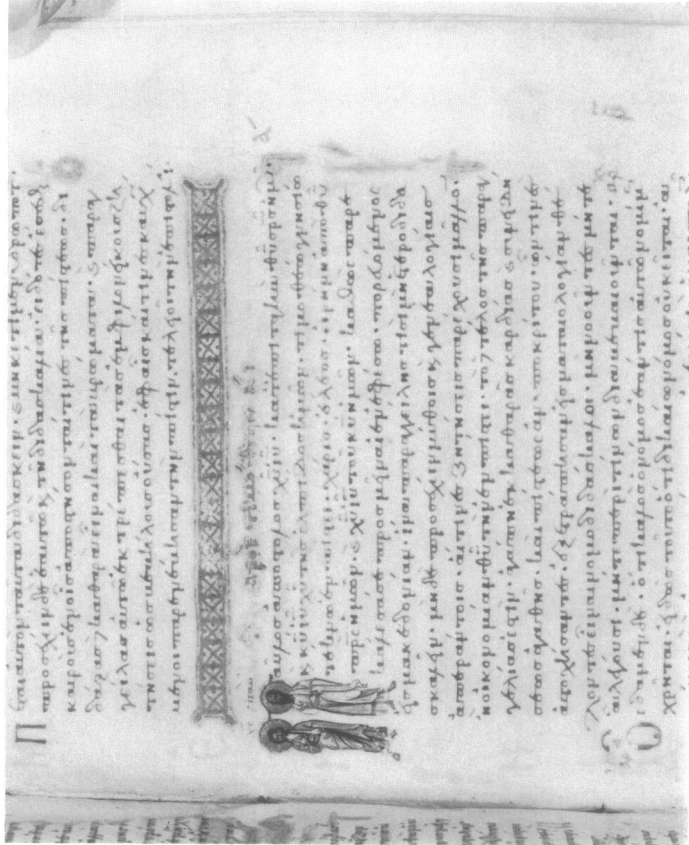
48. Fol. 315. Epistle to the Colossians



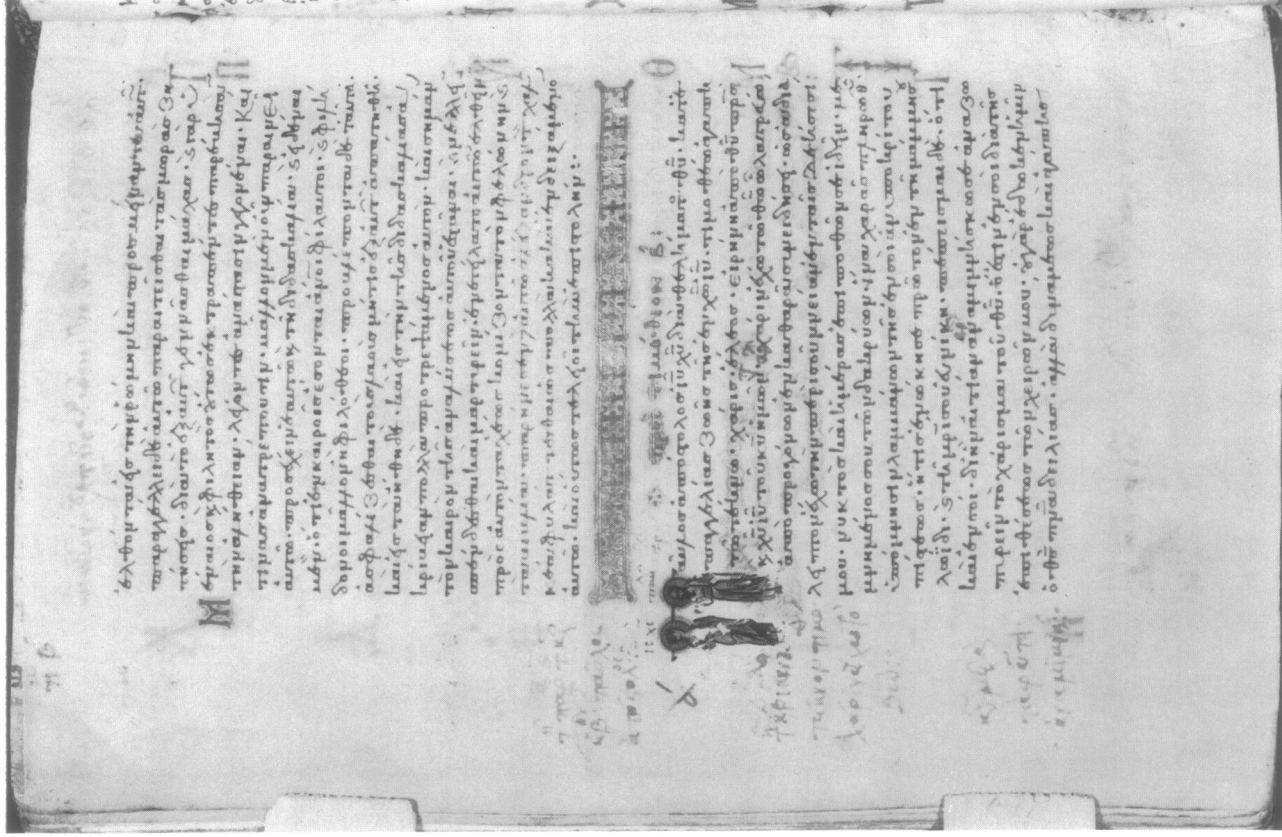
49. Fol. 318. First Epistle to the Thessalonians



50. Fol. 321. Second Epistle to the Thessalonians



51. Fol. 323. First Epistle to Timothy



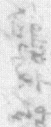
52. Fol. 326v. Second Epistle to Timothy



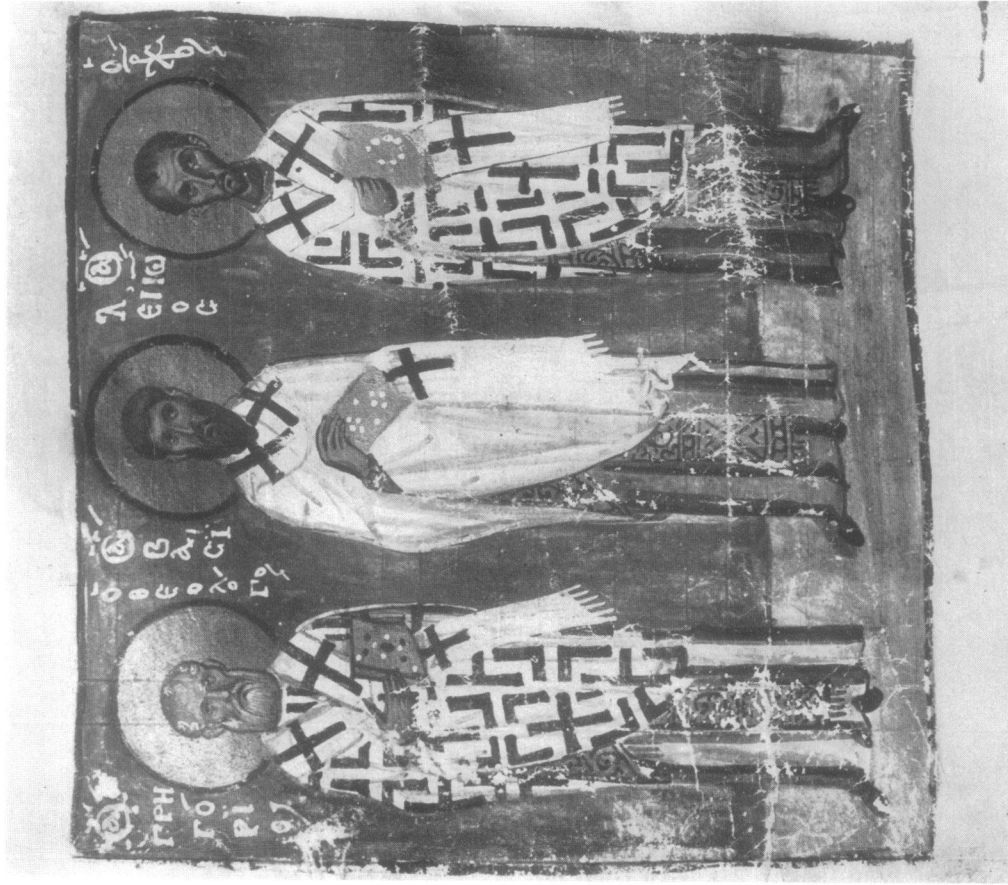
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57. Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery. Cod. 762, fol. 88v. Gregory, Basil, and John Chrysostom



58. Venice, Bibl. Marciana. Cod. gr. 565, fol. 191v. Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law



59. Fol. 258, detail (enlarged three times): Peter
(see also Fig. 36)



60. Fol. 260, detail (enlarged three times): John
(see also Fig. 37)



61. Fol. 294v, detail (enlarged three times):
Christ and Paul (see also Fig. 44)



62. Fol. 311v, detail (enlarged three times):
Christ, Paul, and Timothy (see also Fig. 47)